

A Study of the Magic Elements

IN THE

Romans d'Aventure

AND THE

Romans Bretons

BY

DE LA WARR BENJAMIN EASTER

PART I

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1905

BALTIMORE

J. H. FURST COMPANY

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TO THE
MEMORY OF MY MOTHER.

PREFACE.*

The present study was suggested to me during the session of 1901-1902, by Doctor Murray Peabody Brush, of the Johns Hopkins University, whose kindness, encouragement and advice have largely contributed to its completion. Professor Kirby Flower Smith, of the Hopkins, and Professor Frederick M. Warren, of Yale University, have also given me ample proof of their kindness and willingness to aid in my researches. Work on this study was begun as soon as the subject was suggested, and was continued during the two following sessions at the Hopkins, and, for four months during the summer of 1903, in Paris, at the National Library.¹

* It may be here noted that the portion of the dissertation here printed, while complete in itself, is about one-third of the entire study as presented to the Board of University Studies and accepted by them. The University requirement that at least a portion of a dissertation be published within a year after its acceptance, is the reason for its present appearance, various unavoidable circumstances having combined to render impossible the printing of the entire thesis within the prescribed time. It is hoped, however, to publish the remainder shortly.

¹ In order to facilitate cross reference, the foot-notes in this dissertation are numbered consecutively, and reference to a foot-note will usually imply reference to that part of the text to which it is attached. All such references to foot-notes are given as follows : N 25, NN 250 ff., &c.



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INTRODUCTION.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

The purpose of the present study is to see to what extent Magic in one form or another entered into the two sections of French Literature which are known as the *Romans d'Aventure* and the *Romans Bretons*, and to give, as far as possible, some idea of the origin and connection of the different incidents and episodes in these Romances.

The various editors of Old French texts have here and there made a more or less extended investigation of the magical incidents as they occur in the works edited, and some have discussed certain episodes at considerable length;² but there has been hitherto no attempt made to give a general and connected account of the subject. True, Schroeder³ has gathered numerous examples from the broad field of Old French literature; but the reaping has been done in somewhat irregular fashion. No system has been followed in his choice of authors, and, while his book covers a part of the field that is now to be entered upon, it is by no means exhaustive of the subject, nor are his purposes and methods those that are here held in view.⁴

Reference to the list of texts⁵ that have been read for the

² Cf. the discussion of the "Magic Bed," by E. C. Armstrong, in his edition of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, pp. 59-62, Baltimore, 1900.

³ R. Schroeder: *Glaube und Aberglaube in den altfranzösischen Dichtungen*, Erlangen, 1886.

⁴ Cf., also, G. Schiavo: "Fede e superstizione nell' antica poesia francese." *Z. R. P.*, XIV (1890), pp. 89-127; 275-297; XV (1891), pp. 289-317; XVII (1892), pp. 55-112. Schiavo's articles are evidently prompted by Schroeder's work, which the author strives to supplement by a study of the *Fabliaux*, *Contes dévots*, *Dits*, etc. Cf. *Z. R. P.* XIV (1890), pp. 89ff. Cf. *Ro.* XV: p. 480 for a brief (and somewhat caustic) review of Schroeder.

⁵ Cf. the first section of the Bibliography, to be found at the end of this dissertation.

present discussion, will best show the extent of the investigation. It will be noted that some titles are listed that fall outside the exact limits of the field as defined in the opening paragraph.⁶ These works have been added, when they have contained matter that is elucidative and explanatory of the subject as found within the narrower bounds, while the term *Romans d'Aventure* has been here taken in a broader sense than that in which it is used by Gröber,⁷ and is to be understood as including his *Abenteuerromane* as well as his *Schicksalsdichtung*.⁸

2. GENERAL BELIEF IN MAGIC IN THE ROMANCES.

That belief in magic and its arts was rife in Europe during the Middle Ages, needs no present proof. Meyer,⁹ Colquhoun,¹⁰ Comparetti,¹¹ Del Rio,¹² Garinet,¹³ Maury,¹⁴ Rydberg,¹⁵ Michelet¹⁶

⁶ As, for example, Nrs. 34, 43 and 52 of the list of Romances read for this study. Cf. the first section of the Bibliography.

⁷ Cf. Gröber : *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II, 1, p. 523, sec. 50 ; p. 775, sec. 161.

⁸ As regards the method of arranging the material of the present study, it may be borne in mind that the citations are placed as nearly as possible in chronological order under the various subjects. For each division, one or more typical illustrations are quoted in full. These are usually the earliest. Of the other cases that fall under the same head, the gist is given, and the line references furnished. For the subjects discussed and the field covered, the citations are intended to be not merely illustrative, but exhaustive. A full list of the abbreviations used in this monograph will be found in connection with the Bibliography as noted in N. 5, *supra*.

⁹ Karl Meyer : *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der nächstfolgenden Jahrhunderte*, Basel, 1864.

¹⁰ J. C. Colquhoun : *History of Magic, Witchcraft and Animal Magnetism*, London, 1851.

¹¹ Domenico Comparetti : *Virgilio nel medio evo*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1896. (English translation of the first (1872) edition, by E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895.)

¹² M. A. Del Rio : *Disquisitionum Magicorum Libri VI*, Coloniae, 1679.

¹³ J. Garinet : *Histoire de la magie en France*, Paris, 1818.

¹⁴ L. F. A. Maury : *La Magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge*, Paris, 1864 (3rd edition).

¹⁵ V. Rydberg : *The Magic of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1879. (Translated by A. H. Edgren.)

¹⁶ J. Michelet : *La Sorcière*, Paris, 1862.

and Thiers¹⁷ may be mentioned as among those that have presented to us this phase of thought of the so-called Dark Ages. Even at the present day,¹⁸ magic has its votaries, and the intervening period has seen no lack of them.¹⁹ We need not be surprised, then, to find such notions expressing themselves in the literature between the years 1000 and 1400 of our era, as literature always reflects from life, when it does not create for life, and no set of ideas can exist in the one, without finding expression in the other. So it happened with magic during the period just mentioned, when the fancy of the West seems to have had new life given it, while to its own indigenous stock of superstitions, yet others were added. The East was furnishing its share of marvels. Palmer and pilgrim, soldier and sailor, traveling merchant and wandering minstrel, each brought back his store of wonderful tales. Rome and the Vergil tradition²⁰ gave additional impetus to this movement of thought, and it is no marvel to find necromancy, divination, sorcery, astrology and magic in general put down as among the elements of possible learning, and gravely placed among the seven arts, which, with their mystic number, were supposed to represent the round of human attainment. Hence, in the section of literature under discussion, we are not surprised to find frequent traces of this union of the credulous faith of the East and the West.

In proof of this assertion, we may, before passing to the individual cases of magic, see how clearly expressed is the idea that great learning in hero, heroine or lesser personage in the Romances, is joined to the knowledge of some form of the magic art, while frequently an enchanter becomes the main factor in the development of some episode.

¹⁷ Jean Baptiste Thiers : *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacremens selon l'Ecriture sainte, etc. etc.*, Paris, 1697.

¹⁸ H. R. Gougenot des Mousseaux : *La Magie au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1860.

¹⁹ For the widely spread belief in magic during the reign of Louis XIV, Cf. P. V. Delaporte : *Du Merveilleux dans la littérature française sous le règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1891.

²⁰ Cf. Comparetti, *op. cit.*

3. GENERAL METHOD OF MAGIC IN THE ROMANCES.

For a general statement, then, I may say that magic occurs in the Romances, under the titles of necromancy,²¹ enchantment, sorcery, divination and, notably, astrology. The first four of these terms will be here treated together, as they seem in many cases virtually synonymous, though divination seems more especially allied with the healing art and with prophecy,²² while the fifth,

²¹ In the present discussion, certain secondary meanings of necromancy or enchantment are not included. These comprise :

(a) the use of the word as meaning the feats of the legermainist and the prestidigateur. Cf. *Erec*, where the minstrels leap, tumble and enchant.

Chascuns servi de ce qu'il sot,
Cil saut, cil tume, cil anchante.

Erec, 2040f.

Cf., also *Galer.*, 3388f.; *Joufrois*, 1157; *Sone*, 16672; *Gaimar*, 5290ff.; *Fl-Bl.*, 2884f (p. 120).

(b) as meaning 'persuasion.' Cf. *Jourdain*, 188f., and *Ipom.*, 5923f. :

Tant l'at ben enchante Ismeine,
Al mur desk'as kerneaus l'ameine.

Cf. with this, the Montpellier MS. reading of *Perceval* 29772ff. :

Et la mule a il encantée,
Mas ele ne s'est remuée.

Perc., Vol. IV, p. 317, n. 1.

The accepted text has, however, a different reading : *vid. l. c.*

(c) as meaning 'deception.'

Je te cuidai avoir le chief copé,
Reniers li fel m'en a bien enchanté.

Jourdain, 1023ff.

Cf., also, *Amis*, 563, 702, 1001, 3336, 3439.

²² Cf. the following citations :

Tu ses tant de devinement
Que tu te garras richement
Et avrez bien tes voutez ;

Eracle, 319ff.

N'at el mund mires ne devins,
Ki de la plaie sein me face.

Ipom., 9872f.

Un nains le garde nuit et jors
Qi devoit tot sans mentir
Co qui estoit a avenir
A cels qui iluec trespassoient
Et de la fontaine bevoient.

Ferg., 3687ff.

astrology or astronomy, has its chief usage also in foretelling events, and in making known distant happenings.^{22a}

*a. Necromancy and Enchantment.*²³

Necromancy, enchantment and sorcery²⁴ have to do mainly with

Un devinor out ou pais
A sens, dont il estoit requis.
Ne sai par quel raison disoit
Tout ce k'avenir lor devoit,
Et fu conus par tout l'empire,
C'onques ne failli de voir dire.

Fl-Lir., 1369ff.

Cf. *Fl-Lir.*, 1369-1382, 1693 ff.; *Ipom.*, 5567ff; *Bérout*, 324, 635f., 645f., 840, 1343ff.; *Dolop.*, 2129ff., 4472f.; *Perc.*, 2239ff., 5691f. Yet the word is sometimes found as the exact synonym of enchantment. Cf. *Eracle*, 2710ff., 5050, and the passage in *Octavian*, where the dragon, in the mouth of which is the Sultan's carbuncle, is made by 'devision.'

Qu'ert en la geule d'un dragon
Que fu fais par devision.

Octav., 1783ff.

As commentary on the *Perceval* reference given just above, Cf. *Perc.*, 2250ff., 5949ff. For additional references on varying forms of this word, Cf., also, *G-d' Ang.*, 1754ff.; *Atre*, 1136ff., 1605, 3020, 5726ff.; *Durm.*, 14490f., 15495ff.; *Perc.*, 21277ff., 34181f., 34954f.; *Todd*, 2959f.; *Fl-Bl.*, 159f (p. 8), and *Ile-Gal.*, 4009; *Ipom.*, 3069, 9044, where the word has lost all idea of magic, and means merely "conjecture," "guess," as frequently.

^{22a} Cf. 'Astrology,' NN. 60-76.

²³ Cf. *Meyer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-298.

²⁴ *Fantasmorie* also occurs side by side with these terms. Cf. *Eracle*, 995ff., cited under N. 26 *infra*. With this last term, may be compared the very evident faith in spirits, so frequently shown in the Romances. So *Lancelot*, in the tower, takes the voice of the maiden outside, for that of a spirit, a phantom.

Fantosme cuide que ce soit. *Char.*, 6567.

Cf., also, *Oligés*, 4748ff.; *Yvain*, 1220f., 1226; *Parton.*, 10055; *Chev. II Esp.*, 1182-1187; *Bel Incon.*, 639ff., *Jourdain*, 1301ff.; *Escan.*, 22547; *G-d' Ang.*, 104f.; *Méraig.*, 536ff. The tone of all these quotations tends to the idea that phantoms were believed to be malevolent. As such, they were naturally aids to enchantment, which was in large measure evil. With the above citations, Cf. *Méraig.*, 4386-4392. This last does not show active malevolence; but it points toward the idea of deception, which is not very far removed from the former notion. For other uses of *fantasme* and its derivatives, Cf. *Eracle*, 5676; *Parton.*, 879f., 915f.; *Aucas.*, 18: 25f.; *Bel Incon.*, 4510, 4523ff., 4801f.; *Ile-Gal.*, 932; *G-Pal.* 1179 ff.; *Ferg.*, 2648f.; *Bérout*, 4074; *Escan.*, 13610ff.; *Wistasse*, 65; *Blan.*, 383ff.; *Perc.*, 11003f.;

wonder-working upon men and things, and seem but slightly differentiated in the mind of the writers now before us, however widely separated they may have been in the thought of the adept. Of the fact that the possession of magic art was an essential element of great learning as conceived by the authors of the Romances, and that it was made an integral part of the lives of the characters drawn by them, the following quotations give proof.²⁵

In *Eracle*,²⁶ we find that the hero's jewel²⁷ has stood him in good stead; but some of those who have been present at its trial,

Todd, 497. In *Amadas et Ydoine* is found an ungallant allusion to women, which offers the two terms as synonyms :

Tous jors se paine d'encanter
Et de la gent enfantosmer.

Amad., 7067f.

Cf., also, *Amad.*, 3587ff., referred to under N. 26.

²⁵ These quotations are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, and the same system will be observed in all the citations that may be made. These that immediately follow, have to do with the general subject of enchantment and necromancy; others that are specific in character, and bear upon particular episodes will be found later in their appropriate places. Consult the 'Table of Contents,' for special references, and the 'Bibliography,' for the abbreviated titles of the works cited.

²⁶ It is to be noted that, while enchantment is usually regarded as the work of the Devil, enchanters are not always wicked. *Eracle's* power is God-given (*Eracle*, 267ff.); in *Partonopeus*, Melior declares her power comes from the sense that God has given her (*Parton.*, 4639ff.), and repeats her "credo." Cf. *Parton.*, 1529-1537, 1545, 4591; in *Le Bel Inconnu*, the marvellous maiden has full faith in God (*Bel. Incon.*, 4917-4939); in *Dolopathos*, we find the explanation given, that the reason that the sorcerers and the magicians can read the birth and the fate of Lucimien in the stars, is because God made it known, since all knowledge comes from Him (*Dolop.*, 1133-1152); in *Amadas et Ydoine*, the hero is terribly afraid of the strange knight, with his apparently magic power; but the knight addresses him in God's Name, and Amadas ceases to fear (*Amad.*, 5743ff.); in *Brun de la Montaigne*, the fairies are firm believers in God (*Brun*, 941, 948, 952, 965f., 3601). Cf., also, 'Church Magic' NN. 146ff. On the other hand, the magic maiden in *Escanor*, (*Escan.*, 1802ff.) is said to work harm by her enchantments, charms and other such devilish doings, and confesses to having had devils for her teachers (*Escan.*, 2938ff.); so, also, Mahon works by enchantment (*Parton.*, 4607f.), while another author says that all women know enchantment, and by it trick and deceive (*Amad.*, 3587ff.). Cf., further, *Parton.*, 3935-3941; *Cl-Lar.*, 3627ff., 4420ff.; *Escan.*, 8142ff.; *Dolop.*, 8427ff.; *Galer.*, 3927ff.; *Atre*, 3674f.; *Perc.*, 8906f. Cf., also, NN. 110ff.

²⁷ Cf. 'Jewels,' NN. 307, 308 *infra*.

have small faith in its power, saying that its possessor works by sorcery and enchantment.²⁸

Et dient par lour legerie
Qu'il uevre par fantosmerie,
Par sorcerie et par enchant.

Eracle, 995ff.

Ne cele pierre n'a de force,
Cou dient bien, ne qu'une escorce ;
Par sorcerie est quanqu'il fait.

Eracle, 1083ff.²⁹

In *Cligés*, we have the nurse of Fenice, skilled in necromancy and called 'Thessala,'³⁰ because she is from Thessaly, the land where the Devil's art is held and taught, and where charms are made.

Sa mestre avoit non Thessala
Qui l'avoit norrie d'anfance,
Si savoit mout de nigremance.
Por ce fu Thessala clamée,
Qu'ele fu de Thessaille née,
Ou sont faites les deablies,
Anseigniées et establies,
Et charmes et charaies font
Les femes qui del país sont.

Cligés, 3002-3010.³¹

In the *Tristan* of Thomas,³² the love-lorn lady thinks that it is only by the arts of sorcery and enchantment that her love could have been so soon won.

²⁸ It is to be noted that the seneschal has been previously ridiculed for his purchase of the boy, *Eracle*, with his claims to wonderful knowledge, and, while the lad is said to be no 'divinor,' the seneschal is said to have been 'enchanted.' Cf. *Eracle*, 660-666, 674.

²⁹ Cf., also, *Eracle*, 1718ff.

³⁰ The word, 'Thessala,' was a common one in Latin, as meaning 'enchantress,' 'sorceress,' 'witch,' as Pliny himself tells us, adding that the art of magic was, however, not indigenous to Thessaly, but came originally from Persia. Cf. Pliny: *Nat. Hist.*, XXX, 2. Cf., also, Apuleius: *Metamorphoses*, II, 1, for a similar statement. So Plautus and Horace use the word, 'Thessala,' for 'witch' or 'sorceress.' For an extended list of references to the use of this word, Cf. *Violette*, pp. 28f.

³¹ Cf., also, *Cligés*, 3028ff., 3054ff., 3196ff., 3251ff. A later reference to Thessala and her power is in *Cligés*, 6660ff., where she is aiding Cligés and Fenice to escape. Here, however, the word, 'enchantment,' is very probably used in the derived sense of 'skill.' Cf., also, N. 21 *supra*.

³² *Thomas*, p. 13.

In *Floire et Blanceflor*,³³ we find similar general expressions to show the power of magic and the reality of the belief in its existence, as, for instance, the statement that no enchantment will avail against the Emir of Babylon to get back Blanceflor:

Ne engien, ne enchantement
A la ravoir ne vaut nient.

Fl-Bl., 1561f. (p. 63).

In *Guillaume de Palerne*,³⁴ the new Queen, the daughter of the King of Portugal, has known sorcery and the black art from her childhood,³⁵ and uses it.³⁶

In *Partonopeus*,³⁷ Melior describes her education, closing her account with necromancy and enchantment, beside which two sciences, she later names physics and astronomy, their friends.

In *Le Bel Inconnu*,³⁸ Giglain describes to the fairy his sensations while he has been twisting and turning, awaiting her abed, and infers enchantment. Later, he implores the lady to explain the reasons of his adventures; for he thinks that there has been evident enchantment.³⁹

In *Guillaume de Dole*,⁴⁰ We find those present upon the arrival of the fair maid, crying out in her praise, and thinking her a bit

³³ *Fl-Bl.*, 395ff. (p. 17), 2219f. (p. 91).

³⁴ *G-Pal.*, 284ff.

³⁵ It seems to have been regarded as virtually essential to the study of necromancy, to begin it at an early age. Melior, before she is fifteen, surpasses all her masters (*Parton.*, 4595f.). In *Cléomades*, the three African kings have been early students of the art.

Car clerc furent de grant afaire
D'astronomie et d'ingromance,
Car apris l'orent des enfance,
S'en sorent tant, au dire voir,
Que on n'en porroit plus savoir.

Cleom., 1830ff.

Cf., also, *Escan.*, 1859ff., 13520ff., 15869ff., 15921ff.; *Perc.*, 30220ff.

³⁶ Cf. under 'Ointments,' NN. 227ff., for further account of her powers.

³⁷ *Parton.*, 4597f., 4604ff.

³⁸ *Bel Incon.*, 4801f., 4823.

³⁹ A semi-metaphorical use of the word, 'enchanter,' is found in the passage where is described the ugly lady-love of Giflet, who is yet beautiful to him; for love enchants him. Cf. *Bel Incon.*, 1717 ff., and N. 21.

⁴⁰ *G-Dole*, 4605 f.

of enchantment. Later in the story,⁴¹ the seneschal is ready to swear that his trouble comes through enchantment.

In *Dolopathos*,⁴² there is a somewhat curious explanation of the origin of necromancy. When King Ninus made his marvellous images, the Devil, who knows all languages and can take on human form, got into these images, and thence taught men necromancy.

Et li diables, ki ne fine,
Qui tant est de felon covine
Que plus ainme le dampnemant
De l'ome ke le salvemant,
Se metoit dedans les ymaiges.
Diables seit de toz lengaiges,
Et bien se mue en forme humainne ;
Toz jors de mal faire se painne ;
Dedans ces ymaiges parloient
Li diable, ki enseignoient
A toutes les gens nigromance
Et metoient en mescreance.

Dolop., 12437-12448.⁴³

In the same story,⁴⁴ the wise maiden is represented as knowing all the arts, philosophy and enchantment, without teacher or instruction.

In *Jaufre*,⁴⁵ the famous enchanter of the court, frolicsome though friendly, knows all enchantments and the seven arts. Other evidence in regard to the belief in enchantments to be found in *Jaufre*,⁴⁶ is the account of the hero's thinking that his opponent, Estentz de Vertfeuil, is enchanted, because he fails to fall before Jaufre's blows; in the seneschal's belief that the escape of the hero from the castle of Brunesentz, is the work of magic; in the explanation that the mother of the leper has, by her enchantment, brought from Hell the vanishing knight to defend herself and her sons, and has, by the same means, built

⁴¹ *G-Dole*, 4894 ff. Cf., also, *G-Dole*, 4946 ff.

⁴² *Dolop.*, 12437-12461.

⁴³ This may be a Churchly explanation of the heathen oracles.

⁴⁴ *Dolop.*, 7116 ff., 7166 ff., 7394 f. Cf., also, under 'Feathers,' N. 565.

⁴⁵ *Jaufre*, p. 53b.

⁴⁶ *Jaufre*, pp. 62a, 94a, 112a, b, 113a, 167b.

the leper's castle; in Jaufre's warning to his companions against the arts of the Lady of the Fountain.⁴⁷

In *Méragis de Portlesquez*,⁴⁸ we find the hero giving full credence to the wonderful powers of enchantment. For some ten weeks, he has been in the wonderful castle, whence no knight goes, save when another knight enters. Méragis has not noted that time has been fleeting, such is one of the properties of the castle, and now, since another knight has come, leaves, and is amazed to see the green grass of Spring, and to hear the nightingale, when he expected to find the cold and silence of Winter. It all looks to him like enchantment.

In *La Vengeance Raguidel*,⁴⁹ Gauwain, in the castle of the Black Knight, believes in magic, but does not fear it.

In *Cléomades*,⁵⁰ the three African kings know much of necromancy and astronomy, while Cromptars, the third named, knows all the seven arts, which implies perfection of knowledge.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Cf., also, under 'Fountain,' N. 376 *infra*.

⁴⁸ *Méragis*, 4357 ff., 4364 ff., 4386 ff., Cf., also, under 'Castles,' N. 452.

⁴⁹ *Rag.*, 776 ff.

⁵⁰ *Cléom.*, 1473-1506, 1825-1837.

⁵¹ To show by comparison the great knowledge of the three kings, Adenes inserts (*Cléom.*, 1649-1824) a long account of Vergil and his powers of enchantment, well illustrating the belief of the Middle Ages in this regard. (Cf. *Comparetti*, *op. cit.*, and *Cléom.*, p. 52, n. 1.) The individual cases of magic that are ascribed to him, will be found noted in their proper places. Cf., N. 53, and under 'Astrology,' N. 71; 'Baths,' N. 593a; 'Castles,' N. 463; 'Fly,' N. 495; 'Horses,' N. 500. For other accounts of Vergil, Cf. *Escanor*, (*Escan.*, 15913 ff., 16464 ff.) where he is mentioned in connection with the fairy, Esclarmondine, and *Dolopathos*, (Cf. *Dolop.*, 1396 ff.) where he is the tutor of Lucimien, and appears again and again in the story. It is for Lucimien that Vergil wrote his marvellous books on magic. These, however, he did not leave behind him when he died; but, in his last moments, grasped them so firmly in his hands, by art and necromancy, that they had to be buried with him. Some say that he did this from envy as not wishing another man to be as wise as he; others say that he did it of wisdom, because, if he had left the books upon earth, learning would have become an easy thing, and 'clerks' would accordingly have fallen into disrepute.

Quant il vit ke morir devoit,
Les livres des ars k'il avoit,
Qui fais fut por Lucimien,
Anclost dedans son poing si bien
Par anging et par nigromance,

The author adds after his description of the presents of the three kings, his reason for describing them thus at length, and closes by saying that necromancy is wonderful knowledge, and that by it many marvels have been wrought.

Je leur di que nigromancie
Est moult merveilleuse clergie ;
Car mainte merveille en a on
Faite pieça, bien set on.

C'léom., 1645 ff.

In *Escanor*,⁵² the mother of the hero knows all enchantment, and is the worst sort of sorceress ; yet, when Escanor comes to the birth, it is a cousin, also most learned in necromancy and astrology, that casts his horoscope.

In *Escanor*,⁵³ also, we have further testimony to the value of necromancy, together with the mention of Vergil as an adept,⁵⁴ in the description of the wonderful bed,⁵⁵ where the author declines to make known the full power of the great art of magic ; but would have us remember Vergil's⁵⁶ proficiency therein, unto

Dont il sot toute la siance,
C'onkes n'es en pot nuns oster,
Ne de sa main nel' pot gitter.
Li un dient ke por anvie.
Fist Virgilles tel vilonnie,
Et li autre dient por voir
Que ceu fist il por grant savoir ;
Trop eüst son sans abaissiet,
Se cel livre eüst laissiet ;
Trop s'eüst on legierement
Totes les ars antierement,
Ne jamais clers ki les s'eüst
De par elles honor n'eüst ;
Tant com or sont plus ansauciez,
Fussent elles plus avilliez.

Dolop., 11389-11408.

⁵² *Escan.*, 13495 ff., 13515-13533, Cf.. also, *Escan.*, 13598 ff., 13610 ff.

⁵³ *Escan.*, 15913-15930, 16057 ff., 16464 ff.

⁵⁴ Juno is likewise named in *Escanor*, as a famous fairy and enchantress. Cf., *Escan.*, 15896 ff.

⁵⁵ Cf. under ' Beds,' N. 417 *infra*.

⁵⁶ Cf. N. 51, *supra*.

whose precepts Esclarmondine, the fairy maker of the bed, seems to have taken heed, possibly improving upon the methods of her master, and certainly making good use of her knowledge. 4

Je ne dis pas la grant puissance
De la grant art de nigremance.

Escan., 16464 ff.

In *Sone de Nausay*,⁵⁷ the hero is represented as eager for knowledge, which includes necromancy. So,⁵⁸ also, on Sone's arrival at Liendlouisel, the Queen is told that he seems like a piece of enchantment; an angel from Heaven. Finally, when Sone has been fighting in a tourney, and each time getting away unseen, has, by changing his armor, remained unknown, the King takes his disappearance as a marvel.

Et dist li rois : " Ch'est faërie,
Encantemens et dierverie."

Sone, 14561 f.

In *Perceval*,⁵⁹ the Fisher King knows much of necromancy, and can change his appearance in a thousand ways.

Puis cerkeront par grant vigor
Le court au rice pesceour
Qui moult savoit de ningremance
Qu'il muast .c. fois sa samblance ;

Perc., 219 ff.

These quotations show how intimately connected with the life of the people in the Romances, is the general idea of magic. The particular instances of its occurrence will be discussed in the succeeding pages of this monograph.

⁵⁷ *Sone*, 283 ff.

⁵⁸ *Sone*, 2953 ff. Cf., also, *Fl-Bl.*, 2220.

⁵⁹ For further references to the Fisher King, Cf., *Perc.*, 219 ff., 280 ff., 4185 ff., 4672 ff., 4762 ff., 5169 ff., 6030 ff., 6049 ff., 7745 ff., 7791 ff., Vol. IV, p. 60, n. 3, 22301 ff., 22910 ff., 23151 ff., 23217 ff., 26177 ff., 28063 ff., 28230 ff., 29842 ff., Vol. IV, p. 346, 31437 ff., 32895 ff., 33400 ff., 34611-35545, 44579 ff., 44605-44838, and under 'Graal,' *infra*.

b. Astrology.⁶⁰

It was stated above⁶¹ that astronomy, or astrology, is found treated in these Romances as a form of magic, and used mainly with reference to forecasting the future, and bringing to knowledge events that occur at a distance. Quotations in regard to necromancy⁶² have in some cases included astronomical references, and have already shown instances of the fact just stated. The following citations give added proof as to the belief in this science and as to its being thus used.

In *Erec*,⁶³ there is found the description of the making of a robe by four fairies, who portray thereon geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy, the last being the best of all the arts.

La quarte, qui apres ovra,
A mout buone oeuvre recovra ;
Car la mellor des arz i mist.
D'astronomie s'antremist,
Celi qui fet tante mervoille,
Qui as estoiles se consoille
Et a la lune et au soloil.
An autre leu ne prant consoil
De rien qui a feire li soit ;
Cil la consoillent bien adroit.
De quanque fu et quanque iert
Li font certainement savoir
Sanz mantir et sanz decevoir.

Erec, 6777-6790.

In *Ipomedon*,⁶⁴ we find the Duke has a friend, Amphiorax, who by the stars foretells for him the events of the approaching tournament.

Amfiorax par ses esteilles
Ad choisi ben apertement
Le terme del turnéement
Mut sout devinir e sortir,
Mes haste le fist ci faillir ;

⁶⁰ Cf. *Meyer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-40.

⁶¹ Cf. N. 22a, *supra*.

⁶² Cf. NN. 23-59, *supra*, especially N. 52.

⁶³ *Erec*, 6734-6809.

⁶⁴ *Ipom.*, 5565-5590.

A cest augure trop hasta,
 Kar tut le meulz i ublia ;
 Il sout ben del turnéement
 Ke mut i vendreient grant gent
 Mes de l'enchantement mes prist,
 K'un poie avant ni s'entremist,
 Numéement, ki co serreit,
 Ki le turnéement veintreit.
 Quant out fet ces enchantemenz,
 Al duc vent aukettes dolenz,
 De chef en chef li a cunte,
 Cum ad sorti e devine.

Ipom., 5574-5590.

In *Partonopeus*, we find among those who come to the tourney, certain persons skilled in using astronomy for their ends.

Et cil d'Egipte li artos,
 Qui fait, par droite astronomie,
 Maint grant sens et mainte clergie.

Parton., 7220 ff.^{64a}

In *Aucassin et Nicolette*,⁶⁵ there is another form of astrological belief. Aucassin, lying in the booth that Nicolette has made, sees a very brilliant star, and calls to it, conjuring it and his love. The star is clearly Venus, as being brighter far than the rest, and near the moon in the early evening.⁶⁶

In *Le Bel Inconnu*,⁶⁷ the "Fée de l'Ile d'Or" is an adept in astrology, in the seven arts and in enchantment. She foretells

^{64a} Cf. N. 77.

⁶⁵ *Aucas.*, 24 : 86-25 : 14, and N. 78.

⁶⁶ The basis for this particular instance of astronomical reference, would seem to be an old popular tradition in regard to the influence of the moon and Venus in bringing together separated lovers. The star, seen by both, forms a point of union where they join in thought, and by the star's influence, also in fact, as our poet gracefully suggests even here, where Nicolette falls forthwith upon her lover's bosom ; not that the author shows any real and abiding faith in astral power, however. According to Suchier, (*Aucas.*, edition cited, p. 53 f.) there is a regular charm to be used under such conditions. He cites one at length, which comes from *La Traité des superstitions, &c.*, of Jean Baptiste Thiers, Paris 1697. Very possibly, the belief as here stated goes back into antiquity, since faith in the influence of the stars is well known to reach forward and back from the time when Job is asked : "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?" (*Job*, 38 : 31), and is possessed in one form or another by all nations, especially those of the East.

⁶⁷ *Bel Incon.*, 1915-1920, 4838-4855, 5253 ff.

events by her knowledge of the sun, moon and stars, and speaks at length of her power.⁶⁸

In Bérout's *Tristan*, the dwarf, Frocin, is a skilled astrologer and diviner, able to tell the future by the stars, and very malicious, no more a friend to King Marc than to Tristan.⁶⁹

Oiez du nain boçu Frocin,
Fors estoit, si gardoit en l'er :
Vit Orient et Lucifer.
Des estoiles le cors savoit,
Les .VII. planestres devoit ;
Il savoit bien que ert a estre ;
Qant il oiet un enfant nestre,
Les poinz contot toz de sa vie.

Bérout, 320-327.

In *Dolopathos*,⁷⁰ we have large use of astronomy. To begin with, when Dolopathos finds that his wife is with child, he calls together his magicians and wise men to know the sex and the future of the infant that is yet unborn. When the young prince does come into the world, he is taught astronomy as the chief of the seven arts, having Vergil as his teacher. By this instruction, Lucimien so profits, that no one can harm him, since he foresees all things, and is thus forewarned of evil and envy. Even when his enemies are other astronomers, Lucimien is victorious over them, although our author fails to give any reasons why the other astronomers cannot themselves read failure in the stars. By the stars, Lucimien learns of the death of his mother, as does Vergil, also,⁷¹ whose book the young prince uses in his astrological studies, to the extent that Vergil tells Lucimien that he should love him more than he loves his father, since it is the teacher who

⁶⁸ With this maiden's knowledge may be compared that told of in *Le Livre de Lusignan* :

Moult fu sage d'astronomie ;
Tout en congnoissoit la maistrie.

Lusig., 337 f.

⁶⁹ *Bérout*, 320-333, 635 f., 645 f., 840, 1343 ff.—*Thomas* has a similar reference. Cf. *Thomas*, p. 192, and p. 196, n. 1.

⁷⁰ *Dolop.*, 1105-1185, 1307 ff., 1446-1453, 1547-1552, 1861-1868, 2042 ff., 2129 ff., 2321 f., 4015 ff., 4472 ff., 9275 ff.

⁷¹ Cf., also, N. 51, for an account of the magic powers ascribed to Vergil.

has made the young prince wise, and taught him the art whereby he can know all happenings. The prince makes use of this art to avoid the schemes of the queen who falls in love with him, and would win him with a love potion,⁷² brewed with enchantment.

Again in *Dolopathos*, we find another birth foretold by astrology. The fairy maiden seeks from the stars knowledge as to her offspring, and finds what marvels they will be.

A mie nuit la damoiselle,
Qui perdut ot non de pucelle,
Au cors des estoiles esgarde ;
Ne fut pas folle ne musarde ;
Par nature assez an savoit,
Et vit ke conseat avoit
VI fiz et une damoiselle.

Dolop., 9275-9281.

In *Floriant et Florete*, the marvellous boat⁷³ has painted upon it all sorts of things, including the seven planets, whence comes knowledge to men.

Les VII planetes i estoient
En quoi li sage clerc savoint
Ce qu'il seurent d'autrenomie.

Fl.-Fl., 856 ff.

In *Perceval*,⁷⁴ it is through the study of the stars, that a certain maiden learns the manner of the death of her brother, while the Castle of Roce Sanguin is built, through art and enchantment, by one wise in "astrenomie."

In *Le Roman de la Comtesse de Ponthieu*,⁷⁵ the daughter, unknown as yet to her father, the Count, and claiming to be a Saracen woman, tells him that she knows by astronomy that, if he does not tell her the truth, a shameful death is very near him.

The citations that have been here listed, prove the truth of the statement already made⁷⁶ as to the use of astronomy, or astrology,

⁷² Cf. under 'Potions,' N. 220 *infra*.

⁷³ Cf. under 'Boats,' N. 427 *infra*.

⁷⁴ *Perc.*, 38247 ff., and 8906 ff.

⁷⁵ *Ponthieu*, p. 207.

⁷⁶ Cf., N. 22a, *supra*.

in the Romances : that it was regarded as a magic method of foretelling events, or of making known distant happenings, which two forms of use are really only one, since they are merely the over-coming of distance, the one, in space ; the other, in time.

As regards the origin of such a belief in astrology, there is but one answer, as all the references that suggest any place at all, suggest the same place, and that, the East, either in themselves or in their surroundings. *Partonopeus*⁷⁷ unites 'astronomie' with 'cil d'Egipte li artos' ; the reference in *Aucassin et Nicolette*⁷⁸ is clearly from the East, through Antiquity ; *Dolopathos*⁷⁹ is full of the Orient, as is also *Le Roman de la Comtesse de Ponthieu*,⁸⁰ with its other title of *Istoire d'outre mer*, and its Saracenic surroundings. In the other references that have been here listed, the locality may not be so plainly pointed out ; but they give no evidence against an Eastern origin for this expressed belief in astronomy or astrology.

I. ENCHANTMENT.

1. POWERS OF ENCHANTERS.

It has been shown⁸¹ in the course of this study, that the belief in enchantment is widespread in the Romances. Before passing to individual cases of magic, we have next to consider what powers are generally attributed to the enchanters.

The earliest general account of what a magician was supposed to do, is found in *Floire et Blanceflor*,⁸² where the hero needs diversion, and the magician is called upon to furnish entertainment. The one that is called in, is the best of his time, and can make men tremble with his wonders. He is a barbarian, and does all his works by necromancy, enchantment and conjuration. He makes cheese from stones. By his will, oxen fly in the air, and asses harp. For twelve deniers, he will cut off his head, and give

⁷⁷ Cf., N. 64a, *supra*.

⁷⁸ Cf., N. 65, *supra*.

⁷⁹ Cf., N. 70, *supra*.

⁸⁰ Cf., N. 75, *supra*.

⁸¹ Cf. 'General Belief in Magic in the Romances,' NN. 9-20.

⁸² *Fl-Bl.*, pp. 229-231.

it to a bystander, who finds in his hand a lizard or a viper, instead of the head. He makes smoke come out of his nose, so that he is hidden in the cloud. He makes the palace seem to be on fire. Finally, he makes a turtle dove fly into the room, bearing in its beak a topaz wheel twelve feet broad. In the wheel is the image of a harper, made of gold, who plays the 'Lay of Orpheus,' and sings sweetly. Then appears a knight, mounted upon a charger. The body of the knight is not two feet long; his legs are more than a fathom and a half. Floire pays no attention to all this, and, at the command of the King, the magician ceases his enchantments, while the earth trembles, and the whole house seems in a blaze of light.⁸³ This enchanter is apparently a clairvoyant; he sees Floire in the den of lions,⁸⁴ and so reports to the King.⁸⁵

In *Partonopeus*,⁸⁶ the fairy, Melior can make a room increase in size, and, at midnight, fill it with the light of day. She can make a thousand or so knights enter this room, and there joust; so, also, she can make come there lions, elephants or any other beasts, and can so enchant men, that they cannot see one another. This she does to the inhabitants of her town, in order to hide Partonopeus from their view. But all her power is lost, when Partonopeus sees her by the light of his lantern.⁸⁷

⁸³ Convulsions of nature in connection with the breaking of enchantment, are usual in the Romances. Cf. *Jaufré*, pp. 77b, 111a, b, *Perc.*, 39850 ff., 39881 ff., 39940 ff. Other instances will be noted as they occur.

⁸⁴ *Fl-Bl.*, pp. 234 f.

⁸⁵ This episode of the enchanter, is apparently a later interpolation into the original story. (Cf. *Fl-Bl.*, p. XV.) Its Eastern origin is evident. (Cf. Marco Polo: *Peregrinatio*, II, 37, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, Vol. I, pp. 128, 398, Paris, 1824.) The deeds of the Hindu fakirs at the present day, have much in common with this account in *Floire et Blanceflor*. Possibly, hypnotism is an explanation of the whole matter. At least it is interesting to note that, after the enchantments end, the magician is said to awaken the sleeping knights. Cf., also, NN. 91, 92.

L'encantement a fait fenir
Et les chevaliers desdormir;
Ne sevent u il ont este.

Fl-Bl., p. 234.

⁸⁶ *Parton.*, 4557-4682.

⁸⁷ Cf. 'Lantern,' N. 582, *infra*.

In *Le Bel Inconnu*,⁸⁸ the “Fée de l’Ile d’Or” is skilled in enchantment, as Giglain finds to his sorrow. Madly in love with her, he starts toward her chamber at midnight. He thinks he sees a deep stream there, with a single plank across it. He gets on the plank; stops; cannot advance or retreat; seems to be falling; grabs hold with his hands, and cries out for aid. In rush the servants with lights, and find Giglain clinging to a hawk’s perch. No plank or water is seen, as the enchantment has vanished with the entrance of the light. When all is again quiet, Giglain starts again for the room of the fairy, and feels sudden fear and anguish, as he seems now to be bearing upon his shoulders the vaulted roof of the room in which he has been lying. Again he calls for aid; again the servants enter with lights, and Giglain finds that he has his pillow upon his neck! He is now certain that it is enchantment that keeps him from the fairy’s room. Later, he tells the fairy of the attempts to see her, and of his enchanted experiences. She confesses that she did it all by her enchantments, and tells him her life history and her care of him. A yet later experience of her enchantments comes to Giglain, when he is about to leave her for Belle Esmérée: he and his squire go to sleep in the fairy’s castle, and awake next morning in the wildwood, horses and armor beside them; but the fairy gone for ever.

In *Amadas et Ydoine*,⁸⁹ the three sorceresses have wonderful knowledge. They can fly by night over land and sea; make the waves be as motionless as the earth; make trees grow forthwith from the seed, and bear fruit,⁹⁰ and, by enchantment, bring the dead to life; change the appearance of beings, making men into asses, and put people to sleep and make them dream what the sorceresses please.⁹¹ They can make walls move, towers tremble, and water run back. They can change their own appearance also, and become as beautiful as fairies. Their combined knowledge includes all necromancy, so that the tenth part of their wisdom

⁸⁸*Bel Incon.*, 4463-4512, 4541-4583, 4800-4930, 5297-5340.

⁸⁹*Amad.*, 2007-2311, 2974 ff., 7161-7309, and Cf. the Introduction to the edition cited, pp. xvii ff.

⁹⁰Cf. the ‘Mango Trick’ of the Hindu fakirs.

⁹¹This also looks very much like hypnotism. Cf., N. 85, *supra*.

cannot be told. Through them and their enchantments, the Count of Nevers is dissuaded from marrying Ydoine. They enter his castle despite doors and bolts; appear to him in the guise of the three Fates, and so enchant him, that, if the place were to catch on fire, he could not speak or move, nor does he know whether he is awake or asleep.⁹² The better to persuade the Count, the three sorceresses tell him of various happenings upon land and sea, and in strange countries, and also of his relatives and friends, even of those who are dead, thus bringing him to believe that, if he marry Ydoine, he will die.

In *L'Atre Périllous*,⁹³ the maiden tells Gauwain that her step-mother, by charm and sorcery, made her lose her senses and wander senseless a long time, until she met a demon, who cured her under promise to do his will. In this same story,⁹⁴ also, is found Le Faé Orgellous, of the Roce Faée,^{94a} who is possessed of marvellous powers. He slays a knight in the belief that it is Gauwain, and cuts off an arm from the corpse. Long after, conquered by the real Gauwain, he restores the dead knight to perfect health and strength by merely putting the arm in its proper place beside the body, and the knight arises, feeling no hurt or pain. Again,⁹⁵ Le Faé Orgellous restores sight to the blind varlet merely by passing his right hand over the face of the blind. Possibly this magic power is to be here ascribed to God as its source; for we are told :

Mais Damle Diex l'a regardé
Qui li a rendu sa veue.

Atre, 6524 f.

In *Jaufre*,⁹⁶ there is a famous enchanter, who is also a most courtly knight and gentleman. At one time, he becomes a strange

⁹² Is this also hypnotism? Cf., N. 85.

⁹³ *Atre*, 1194 ff.

⁹⁴ *Atre*, 518-571, 5048-5202, 5220 ff., 5255 ff., 5353 ff., 5521 ff., 5649-5664, 5826-5856, 6186 ff., 6339-6399.

^{94a} Cf., N. 191, *infra*.

⁹⁵ *Atre*, 480 ff., 562 ff., 5750 ff., 5810 f., 5836 ff., 6362 ff., 6482-6525 : the cure is found in lines 6508 ff.

⁹⁶ *Jaufre*, pp. 50b-54a.

and wonderful beast, very much like a mammoth in appearance, which the King hunts, and which, in the end, changes into this knight, clad all in red. Later⁹⁷ in the story, a marvellous bird picks up the King, and flies with him to a certain wood and castle. There the bird assumes human form as the famous enchanter, and asks pardon of the King for the abduction. This is granted, and the enchanter again takes on his bird form, and, flying off, appears again to the followers of the King, who follow him to the castle, and are well entertained.

In *Jaufre*,⁹⁸ also, we find the hero meeting with a knight, with whom he forthwith jousts, sending his lance clear through his opponent, and knocking him out of the saddle. When Jaufre would continue the fight, the knight has disappeared; but, though unseen, continues to attack Jaufre. Against this enemy, the weapons of Jaufre avail little; the hermit's prayers and Holy Water and the sign of the Cross prove more efficacious.⁹⁹

In *Wistasse le Moine*,¹⁰⁰ the hero is a skilled enchanter, having learned necromancy at Toledo,¹⁰¹ where he stayed underground in an abyss for a winter and a summer, and talked with the Devil face to face. Thus he learned more charms and enchantments than any other man in France, and was able to bewitch men and women. He knew the secrets of the zodiac, the firmament and heavenly sphere, and could counterfeit the chimera. When he returned to France with three companions, and the hostess of the inn at Montferrant demanded pay for entertaining them, he

⁹⁷ *Jaufre*, pp. 162a-164b.

⁹⁸ *Jaufre*, pp. 109b-111b.

⁹⁹ Cf., also, 'Means to Counteract the Effects of Enchantment,' NN. 109a ff., *infra*.

¹⁰⁰ *Wistasse*, 1-302.

¹⁰¹ *Wistasse*, 6 ff., 101 ff. Toledo seems to have been blessed, according to the belief of the Middle Ages, with a regular Academy of Necromancy; so for Salamanca. Cf. *Nyrop*, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 1. So, as in the case of Eustache here mentioned, it is to Spain that Tristan claims to be going to study astronomy and the other sciences. Cf. *Thomas*, p. 98. In the *Roman de Renart*, too, the hero goes to Toledo to learn enchantment. The trip to Toledo: Renart's learning; the various kinds of enchantment learned, and his use of them, take up a large part of the XXIII Branch. Cf. *Martin*, XXIII, 1167-2080, *passim*, especially 1167-1180. Cf., also, *Observations sur Le Roman de Renart*, Ernest Martin, Strassburg et Paris, 1887, pp. 94 ff., and *Rajna*, *op. cit.*, Cap. XV.

bewitched her, and, throwing a charmed powder upon her threshold, made her pull up her clothes to her waist and rush to break open a great tun of wine, so that the liquor flowed even into the street. Men and women ran thither from all sides, and, as soon as they crossed the door-sill, the men pulled down their *braies*, and the women pulled up their skirts. The thing was seen to be magic, and so messengers were sent after Eustache and his three companions to beg them to return and remove the spell. But one of his companions, a man who had spent twenty years at Toledo, made a conjuration, and a great river came rushing between them and the messengers, who fled, pursued by the stream. Eustache and his comrades then returned to Montferrant, and, by the magic ringing of the tocsin, called together the people, who forthwith fell to fighting one another. Eustache then threw another powder among the crowd, who at once became quiet, while the wine was found once more in the casks, with none lost; the men pulled up their *braies*, and the women pulled down their skirts. Leaving Montferrant, the three friends were displeased with the cart upon which they were journeying, and hence enchanted the carter, making him think that his horses were going backward instead of forward; whereupon he prayed the three friends to get down. Eustache later went to Boulenois, and became a monk at St. Saumer. Here, he bewitched his fellow monks, making them fast when they should feast; go barefoot when they should be shod; curse when they should bless, and swear when they should say grace. Angry with the abbot, Eustache descended to the kitchen, and, by a charm, changed water into blood, and the half of a hog into an old woman, ugly, hunched-back and surly. The cook fled in terror, and Eustache finally undid the enchantment, and left the monastery. This Eustache was a better enchanter than any other, surpassing even Basin and Amaugis, who by enchantment stole the crown of France, and various swords, including Durendal.¹⁰²

¹⁰² This account of the powers of Eustache seems to be given merely as an amusing introduction to the story, which later has nothing magic in it, the further

In *Claris et Laris*,¹⁰³ is found Dampnas, the best enchanter in the world, and a famous knight. He makes the earth tremble; beasts become knights; day become night, and water run up hill, and has, besides, built a castle, a burning tower and other wonders.

Laienz ert Dampnas a sejour
Et gardoit de nuit et de jor
La forest, mes trop iert fort lerres
Et li plus mestres enchanterres,
Qui onques fust en tot le monde,
Tant come il dure a la roonde;
Car il faisoit terre trembler,
Bestes chevaliers ressembler,
De cler jor faisoit nuit obscure;
Tant savoit d'ars et de conjure,
Les granz eves faisoit baler,
Les aigues contremont aler,
Et s'estoit chevalier norrois,
Mieudres que quens ne dus ne rois.

Cl-Lar., 3355 ff.

In *Escanor*,¹⁰⁴ Esclarmondine uses her powers to amuse as well as to aid.

Et pour les genz faire muser,
Faisoit sovent tez moqueries
Et autres granz deableries
Que par enchantement faisoit
Dont les genz sovent amusoit.

Escan., 15760 ff.

In *Perceval*, the Fisher King can change his appearance a hundred times, if he will.

Puis cerkeront par grant vigor
Le court au rice pesceour
Qui moult savoit de ningremance

adventures of the hero being successfully accomplished by his shrewdness and common sense. Cf., also, *Wistasse*, 279 ff. :

A l'entendre ne vous anuit;
Je vous dirai encor anuit
Tel chose qui vous fera rire;
Ja le m'ores conter et dire.

¹⁰³ *Cl-Lar.*, 3355 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. under 'Beds,' N. 417, *infra*.

Qu'il muast . c. fois sa semblance ;
 Nus ne kerroit en nul guise,
 Li autres en autre devise.

Perc., 219 ff.

In *Perceval*,¹⁰⁵ also, is found the knight, Gaharies,¹⁰⁶ who is an enchanter. He loves Ysaune, and, when Caradeus marries her, he is in despair. However, for the first three nights after the marriage, he fools Caradeus, by changing into fair maidens a bitch, a sow and a mare. These, Caradeus embraces upon successive nights, while Gaharies enjoys Ysaune, and begets a son, Carados. At another time,¹⁰⁷ Gaharies comes to King Arthur's court, and begs that some one take a sword and cut off his head. Carados, his unknown son, complies with this request; whereupon, Gaharies picks up his head; puts it upon his bleeding neck, and goes off as sound as ever, promising to return a year hence to decapitate Carados. Later in the story,¹⁰⁸ when Gaharies' treachery against Caradeus becomes known, Ysaune is confined in a tower, into which Gaharies gets by his enchantments. By this means, too, he brings thither to amuse him, magic harpers, jonglers and such-like folk. To avenge himself upon Carados, who has betrayed him, he makes the serpent that shall gradually drain the life-blood of the young man. Enchantment must have been inherent with Gaharies; for, when Caradeus, to punish Gaharies for the trick he formerly played him, makes the enchanter lie carnally with a bitch, a sow and a mare, the resulting progeny are the hound, Guinalos, the boar, Costane, and the colt, Lucanor; all marvellous beasts, and all brothers to Carados on the side of his father.

In *La Mule Sanz Frain*,¹⁰⁹ there is found within the turning castle, the man who is armed with an axe, and who asks Gauwain to cut off his head, on condition that Gauwain let him later do the same thing to Gauwain. Gauwain accepts the proposition, and

¹⁰⁵ *Perc.*, 12460 ff.; Vol. III, pp. 118 f., notes 1, 2, 3; 12853 ff.

¹⁰⁶ Called also Eliaures, or Elyafres.

¹⁰⁷ *Perc.*, 12637 ff., 12702 ff., Vol. III, p. 128, n. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Perc.*, 15009 ff., 15149 ff., 15177 ff., and 'Baths,' N. 594, *infra*.

¹⁰⁹ *Mule Sfr.*, 574 ff., 593 ff. Cf., also, N. 107, *supra*.

cuts off the head, which the man picks up, and with which he walks off, to return next morning with the head safe upon his shoulders.

These illustrations show what are the general powers of enchanters as expressed in the Romances. These powers may be summarized as the ability to do the apparently impossible, by ruling the forces of nature and calling in the aid of spirits, usually evil. In some cases the result is serious; in others, it is ludicrous.

2. MEANS USED TO COUNTERACT THE EFFECTS OF ENCHANTMENT.^{109a}

In order to avoid being harmed by the powers of magic, the people of the Romances relied in large measure upon the aid of the Almighty. True, in several cases, the performance of some task, or the successful endurance of some danger, put an end to the enchantment, or the arrival of the right person broke its power;¹¹⁰ for, as has been already shown,¹¹¹ enchantment was not of necessity evil, and hence not of necessity opposed to God. But when evil was feared, God's help was sought, and often His Name was used as conjuration,¹¹² or the sign of the Cross was made as a direct or a general protection.¹¹³ Again, a cross worn or borne¹¹⁴ for a similar purpose, while prayers were said, or Holy Water

^{109a} Cf. NN. 99, 168.

¹¹⁰ Cf. for instances of these, NN. 447-449, 450, 457, 468, 497, 610.

¹¹¹ Cf. N. 26.

¹¹² Cf. under 'Swords,' N. 386, *infra*, where the Holy Name is used as a charm to render weapons irresistible. Cf., also, the prayer that the hermit is said to have taught Perceval, all full of the Names of God, and to be used only in times of great danger. This would seem to be very much like an incantation. (Cf. *Perc.*, 6858-7865.) So in *Octavian*, when the banished queen finds the lion with her child, she conjures the beast by God and His Holy Words and Deeds. The lion humbles himself and kneels, and, when the queen picks up the child, follows after her like a dog. (Cf. *Octav.*, 757 ff., and N. 132, *infra*.) This last episode is on the borderland between magic and religion. Cf. under 'Church Magic,' N. 149, *infra*.

¹¹³ No notice will be taken of making the sign of the Cross in its purely religious use, as an act of worship. The employment of it against the evils of magic is what will here be noted.

¹¹⁴ Cf. under 'Shields,' N. 404, *infra*.

sprinkled, or God invoked in some other fashion, directly or by symbol.¹¹⁵

About the earliest mention of the power of the Cross in the Romances, is in *Eracle*, where Gautier takes an excursus¹¹⁶ of some length to tell us of the finding of the True Cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine. The test of its authenticity was its ability to bring the dead to life. This test was suggested by Jude, and its successful outcome was greeted by the appearance of the Devil in person, who was fearfully chagrined at the discovery of the relic, since its power against him was great.¹¹⁷

Le croiz ont sour le mort couchiee ;
 Le bouche en ont promes touchiee,
 Et puis les ieux et les oreilles :
 Puis virent avenir merveilles ;
 Car cil qui morz avoit este
 Une nuit et un jor d'este
 Veant trestouz i reveski,
 Si sains com al jour qu'il naski,
 Si que tuit cil de la cite
 Virent le mort ressuscite ;
 Et droitement que con fu fait,
 Diables sailli d'un agait,
 Qui cuide engignier tout le monde,
 Et dist : " Judas, Deus te confonde ! "

Eracle, 5186-5199.

¹¹⁵ In all these ideas, the writers of the Romances are merely following the teaching of the Church. To support this statement, it will be needless to multiply examples and citations ; but two from St. Athanasius are pertinent, where he is speaking of the various powers of evil, including magic, and adds that, at the sign of the Cross, all magic ceases, and every one looks from Earth to Heaven. Later, he says that if anyone make the sign of the Cross and name the Name of Christ, before the delusions of the demons, the deceptions of the oracles and the magi, he will see the demons at once flee, the oracles confounded, and all magic and sorcery vanish. St. Athanasius : *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, 31, B. (In Vol. I, of S. P. N. Athanasii, *Opera Omnia Quae Exstant*, Vols. 25-28 of J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Graecae*, Paris, 1857.) Cf., also, 'Church Magic,' NN. 146 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Eracle*, 5148-5293.

¹¹⁷ Previous to this, however, Gautier has given us a practical instance of the power of the Cross, when he makes *Eracle* cross himself in the fire test, where God and the precious stone save him from harm.

Mais il [*Eracle*] se saigne, et puis se met
 Tresqu'en mileu le feu ardent.

Eracle, 1047 f.

Deus et li pierre le souztient ;
 Touz sains et sans del feu s'en vient.

Eracle, 1059 f.

In this citation, the question of magic is not so apparent ; but the efficacy of the Cross is established. From such a belief in the virtues of the original Cross, came easily faith in crossing oneself as symbolizing the Cross of Christ, and in crosses as imitations of the original. The power of Christ against the powers of Evil, was what all this meant to the people, and as such, its potency was firmly believed in. This is fully shown by the citations that follow, which will include also those that call in the aid of the Almighty against the evil of magic in ways other than by crossing oneself.¹¹⁸

The further account of the Cross, as given in *Eracle*, shows its power. The hero, in his fight with the Prince of Persia to recover the Cross after it has been stolen, thinks of it, and so gains strength for victory. He later adores the recovered Cross, and claims that no house is safe that does not have it marked upon the entrance, and that it gives strength, comfort and joy to the faithful.

Touz jours seras en me memoire,
Pour l'oneur grant, pour le victoire
Que de par toi m'a Deus donee.

Eracle, 5940 ff.

Croiz, tu sauves as tuens le vie,
S'en a diables grant envie,
Tu ies as tuens joie et conforz ;
Tu fais ades les tuens plus forz.
Croiz, tu m'as aidie et valu,
En nule maison n'a salu
S'om ne garnist de toi l'entrée,
Bone aventure ai encontrée
Quant je te voi si faitement.

Eracle, 5952 ff.¹¹⁹

In *Guillaume de Palerne*,¹²⁰ the hero is found speaking to the queen, who, disguised in a deer-skin, is taken for a beast, but surprises Melior and Guillaume by speaking to them. Then the two cross themselves with the right hand, and the young man conjures the queen by the King of Heaven.

¹¹⁸ As has been already stated (Cf. N. 25, *supra*), the order of the citations is, as far as possible, chronological.

¹¹⁹ Cf., also, *Eracle*, 5755 ff., 5768 ff.

¹²⁰ *G-Pal.*, 5210-5219.

In *Le Bel Inconnu*,¹²¹ there is given at some length an exorcism, wherein Holy Water and crosses play an important part. The spell that has hung over the Waste City, has been broken by the hero, who, by the use of the Holy Sign, has repeatedly protected himself from the marvels that have assailed him;¹²² but, in order to prevent any possible recurrence of such a calamity, bishops and priests come in grand procession with crosses, censers, Holy Water, holy bells, relics and blessings, and the outcome is peace.

Por Mabon qui avoit esté
Encanteres en la cité,
L'auge benéoitte ont jetée.

Bel Incon., 3460 ff.

In *Jourdain de Blaivies*,¹²³ we find God's Name invoked as protection against a supposed phantom, who is really only Jourdain.

*L'Atre Périllous*¹²⁴ furnishes an excellent example of the power of the cross against evil and its Author. Gauwain has found in the tomb the maiden whom the devil leads about to do his bidding. She tells Gauwain her history, and urges him to fight the devil; for, trusting in God, he need fear nothing, and, if he feels his force fail in the fight, he has but to look at the cross that is near by, to regain his breath, and be alleviated of two-thirds of his pain. In the combat that follows, twice does the devil get the upper hand, and twice does Gauwain, at the call of the maiden, bethink himself of the cross, and so beat off his enemy, and at last conquer him.

Si vous avés bone creance,
Ja mar le douterés de rien,
La Crois vous le conisciés bien,
Dont je voi le signe l'asus,
Et quant vous onques serés plus
Angouscex de vostre bataille,
Regardés la sans nule faille,
Reprenés ileuc vostre alainne,
Et des . II . pars de vostre painne
Serés maintenant alegié.

Atre, 1240 ff.

¹²¹ *Bel Incon.*, 3444-3464.

¹²² *Bel Incon.*, 679 ff., 3045 ff., 3064 ff.

¹²³ *Jourd.*, 1300 ff.

¹²⁴ *Atre*, 1332-1341, 1374-1383. The whole reference runs *Atre*, 1131-1413.

In *Jaufre*, the hero is constantly calling upon God for aid against the enchantments that befall him, and tells the hermit that he has no fear, as he has full faith in the Almighty. This he has shown in the magic castle,¹²⁵ whence he could at first not escape, and also in his fighting,¹²⁶ while the hermit has likewise, with prayer and Holy Water, put to flight the devil, who was summoned from Hell by enchantment, and who could not be overcome, save with spiritual weapons. Again, when Jaufre has his last fight with the giant, the maiden, who is close at hand, invokes the assistance of God by stretching herself out upon the ground in the shape of a cross, arms and legs extended.¹²⁷

In *Méragis*, to prevent the recurrence of a fainting spell, thought to be caused by the Devil, the cross is marked upon the forehead of the sufferer with a little balm; but it is apparently the cross that is the real remedy.

. . . . Lors se repasme.
 Au revenir d'un poi de basme
 Li ont fet croiz en mi le front;
 Par cele croiz en creance ont
 Que dëables por nul porpens
 Ne la puet mes geter dou sens.

Méragis, 5041 ff.¹²⁸

In two other places in *Méragis*,¹²⁹ is found testimony to the belief in the effective protection of the Holy Name and the Holy Sign. In the first, the hero has been left for dead; but, coming to himself, appears before the lady, who crosses herself more than seven times as a protection against the Devil, and adjures

¹²⁵ *Jaufre*, pp. 75b, 76a, 78a. Cf., also, under 'Castles,' N. 450, *infra*.

¹²⁶ *Jaufre*, pp. 111a, b, 112b, 113a, b.

¹²⁷ *Jaufre*, p. 115a. As commentary on this passage, it may be noted that the same posture was sometimes assumed with no magic notion, as in imploring human aid, or when in need of mercy as conquered in battle. Cf., *Cl-Lar.*, 599-604; *Perc.*, 36281 ff.

¹²⁸ In *Todd*, there is found a similar instance of the power of the cross to cure disease, which is the work of the Devil; there, three Pater Nosters and the sign of the cross are seriously considered as cure for a case of what is apparently a form of dropsy. In this particular instance, the disease is but pretense; but the cure is seriously applied. Cf. *Todd*, 1954 ff.

¹²⁹ *Méragis*, 3310 ff., 5701 ff.

Méraigis by God. Later in the story, the maiden beloved by the hero has feigned fear in his presence. Afterward, she is permitted to see him; but is bidden to cross herself, as a guard possibly against hysterical fainting.

In *Boeve de Haumtone*,¹³⁰ Holy Water is used effectively against an idol, whence runs a red mastiff, when the idol is struck with a mace and sprinkled with Holy Water.

In *Claris et Laris*,¹³¹ Yvain stops in a castle overnight, and awakes at midnight to find the courtyard full of howling devils. Against their leader, the knight goes forth to fight. Mutual defiance follows; then Yvain crosses himself and the devil recoils. Yvain then makes the sign of the cross in the devil's face, and strikes him with his sword, at which the devil cries out and flees.

Mesire Yveins ert bien apris ;
La crois li fait en mi le vis
Et puis de l'espee li donne
Si ruiste coup, que tout l'estone.
Quant li deables voit la croiz,
Atant s'escrie a haute voiz :

Cl-Lar., 18051 ff.

In *Octavian*,¹³² the queen is in mortal terror of a lion; but, when she conjures it by God's Name and by His Words and Deeds, the beast kneels before her harmless.

Perceval is full of episodes in which evil and enchantment are overcome by means of God's aid. Thus,¹³³ the hero's mother tells him that armored men are demons, and, if he meets them, he is to say his "Credo," of course crossing himself. Later, *Perceval* thinks of her words when he meets the knights; but disdains to use any such unmanly defense.

But *Perceval* learns not to despise the aid of the Holy Sign. So,¹³⁴ in the episode of the lonely chapel, the black hand, the corpse, the glowing devil and the burning candle, he follows the

¹³⁰ *Boeve*, 3665 ff.

¹³¹ *Cl-Lar.*, 18043 ff., 18051 ff.

¹³² *Octav.*, 757-765. Cf., also, N. 112, *supra*.

¹³³ *Perc.*, 1245 ff., 1326 ff.

¹³⁴ *Perc.*, 35432-35443, 39842 ff., 39877 ff., 39933 ff., 39954 ff., 39974 ff.

advice of the Fisher King, and breaks the enchantment by the use of faith and Holy Water. So, also,¹³⁵ when he finds that the strange horse upon which he is mounted, is running away with him, and is about to precipitate him into the river, he makes the sign of the Cross, and the animal falls beneath him, and then dashes into the water, whereat Perceval crosses himself more than one hundred times; for he knows that it was the Devil who was trying to destroy him.¹³⁶ Again,¹³⁷ the Devil, in the form of a beautiful maiden, is about to work Perceval's undoing; but the hero by chance looks at his crossed sword hilt, and is so reminded to cross himself, which doing, he sees devil, tent and bed all disappear.

In *Perceval*¹³⁸ also, Boors finds help in the Sacred Sign. Finding upon the road what he supposes is the corpse of his brother, Lyonel, he raises his right hand, and, swearing vengeance, makes the sign of the cross, whereat the body revivifies, and runs off; for it is the Devil in disguise, who cannot abide the Symbol.

Again in *Perceval*,¹³⁹ when the hero is exposed to the temptation of St. Anthony, he routs the Adversary with this Holy Sign, while at the wedding of Perceval,¹⁴⁰ each guest crosses himself as he enters the minster; for the Devil fears this sign.¹⁴¹ So also,¹⁴² in the fight between Perceval and the Knight of the Dragon, the cross on the shield of Perceval is too much for the dragon's head on the shield of his opponent, out of which leaps a devil, and flies

¹³⁵ *Perc.*, 40513 ff., 40528 ff., 45102 ff.

¹³⁶ May this be connected with the story of the Gadarenean swine, which dashed down a steep place into the sea, and were drowned? Cf. *Mat.* 8:32; *Mk.* 5:18; *Luke* 8:33.

¹³⁷ *Perc.*, 40696 ff., 40859 ff., 40882 ff. Cf., also, 'Boats,' N. 435, *infra*.

¹³⁸ *Perc.*, 43146-43158.

¹³⁹ *Perc.*, Vol. VI, p. 175.

¹⁴⁰ *Perc.*, Vol. VI, p. 202.

¹⁴¹ Whether the custom of bed-blessing with the sign of the Cross, had any magical idea in it, there is no proof in the Romances. Possibly, it was further to sanctify the marriage tie. Cf. *Perc.*, Vol. VI, pp. 206, 207; *Erec*, 2073 f.; *Cligès*, 3330 f.; *Escoufle*, 1740 ff.; *Durm.*, 15155 f.; *Jeh-Bl.*, 4785.

¹⁴² *Perc.*, Vol. VI, pp. 228 f., 230 f. Cf., also, 'Shields,' N. 404, *infra*.

away in the shape of a black crow, after roaring like a bull! Christ has again conquered Satan!¹⁴³

The quotations that have been listed in the present chapter, substantiate the claim that was made in the beginning¹⁴⁴ as to the value of the Cross or other emblem of the Deity, in combatting the evil of magic. Other citations bearing upon the same subject, will be found listed under various cases of magic.¹⁴⁵

3. CHURCH MAGIC.¹⁴⁶

The white and the black magic of the Persians;¹⁴⁷ that of the good deity, Ormuzd, against that of the evil deity, Ahriman, finds its counterpart in the dualistic thought of the Middle Ages, when the Church, entering the field against the heathen and profane practices of the laity, both the learned and the ignorant, opposed to their diabolic magic, its own celestial species. Thus doing, the Church multiplied miracles; used relics; made angels the com-

¹⁴³ With this crossed shield may be compared that which, according to the Fisher King, Evelac bore at the command of Joseph of Arimathaea; this shield had a crimson cross upon it, and with this shield, Evelac conquers the world. Cf. *Perc.*, 35093-35110. The idea here is, however, rather religious than magic.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. N. 112, *supra*.

¹⁴⁵ For instances Cf., NN. 168, 308 f., 386 ff., 404 f., 429, 444, 447, 523 f., 562, 577, 601. As intimated, the purely religious worship and use of the Cross, or of crossing, is not here considered, as, for instance, in the following:

C'est li venredis aoures,
Qu'on doit simplement aourer
' La crois et ses pecies plorer.

Perc., 7640 ff.

Ore secorre Diex les Francois,
Et la sainte veraie croiz.

Octav., 3709 f.

Cf., further, *Escan.*, 24885 ff.; *Perc.*, 3345-3352, 7595 ff., 7869 f., 16765 f.; *Escoufle*, 2518 f.; *G-d' Angl.*, 118; *Poitiers*, 731; *Char.*, 343 ff. This religious use and belief is every where present in the Romances under discussion; but, as being non-magic, does not bear on the subject here in hand, and is accordingly not here considered. Further citations are therefore useless.

¹⁴⁶ Cf., *Meyer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-204; *Rydberg*, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-94, 158-224. Cf., also, under 'Means Used to Counteract the Effects of Magic,' NN. 109a ff. of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *Rydberg*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

panions and supporters of men, and, entering every sphere of human life and society, attributed to symbols and external tokens of the Divine, an independent power for sanctification, and an immediate influence, moral and physical, which, if not to be classed as pure magic, is assuredly not far removed therefrom, God and the Good being considered as opposing the Devil and Evil, and things of holy and spiritual character and meaning being debased to the meanest uses.¹⁴⁸ Instances of such Church Magic appear often in the Romances, and will be noted as they occur under the various titles treated in this dissertation; but, to illustrate the general ideas of such magic, certain typical instances are here cited.¹⁴⁹

a. Angels.

Excellent examples of the magic of the Church are found in the Romances in the use of angels,¹⁵⁰ in a manner that reminds the reader strongly of the sundry "Lives of Saints," and totally lacks the dignity of the Biblical accounts of angelic visitations.¹⁵¹

The earliest of these instances is in *Eracle*,¹⁵² where an angel appears to the barren wife, Cassine, and, giving her a rich carpet and a silk cloth, bids her spread them out, and lie upon them with her husband, who shall be clad in his costliest mantle. Thus shall she conceive a son, who shall be the wisest man in the world. Then a Mass is to be said to the Holy Spirit, and the carpet and mantle are to be dedicated to God. Cassine follows the angel's

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Rydberg, op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁹ It must, however, be borne in mind that it is not always easy to differentiate between religion and religious magic. The two phases of thought gradually fade into each other, and the line of demarcation is hard to place exactly, so that an episode which would be considered by one reader as magical, is looked upon by another as merely religious. Cf., also, N. 112, *supra*.

¹⁵⁰ Of course, these beings are always described as beautiful. Cf. *Poitiers*, 103 (p. 6), and *Horn*, 1053 f., where they are used as a standard of comparison for this quality. Cf., also under 'Fairies and Magic,' N. 185, and 'Demons,' N. 160, *infra*.

¹⁵¹ Cf., for instance, 2 *Sam.*, 24 : 16, 1 *Kgs.*, 19 : 7, *Dan.*, 8 : 16, *Luke*, 1 : 11, 2 : 8-12.

¹⁵² *Eracle*, 150-286, 527 ff., 690 ff.

instructions, and conceives Eracle.¹⁵³ But the wonder does not end here. When Eracle is baptised upon the third day after his birth, the angel reappears, and places upon the cradle of the infant a folded letter, which is sent by the Almighty. On the outside of this letter, is written the command to put the child to school as soon as possible, and not to open the letter until the child can himself read it. The missive is kept until Eracle is five years old, at which time he can read fluently. The letter is then spread before an altar, and opened. Within, is found written that Eracle shall have all knowledge of women, their thoughts and ways; of horses, and of precious stones, the worth and virtues of them all.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ To be contrasted with this conception, is the birth of Robert le Diable, who is born after his mother, despairing of God's help to give her a son, prays to the Devil, and thus conceives to her future sorrow.

Diabes, qui le sot bien faire,
Fu consellieres de l'afaire.
Or n'i a plus, la dame porte
L'enfant, qui mout le desconforte,
Car el set bien Dieu n'i a rien
Et que ja ne fera nul bien.

Robert, 67-72.

Cf., also, *Robert*, 45 ff., 429 ff., 594 ff., 4857 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Such instances as the account of the dying hermit, seen by Escanor, with troops of angels and archangels waiting for his soul, might be classed by some as magic. I have preferred to regard this class of episodes as merely religious. Cf. *Escan.*, 24836-24924, 25009 ff., 25414 ff. Another instance where it is difficult to differentiate religious belief from Church magic, is found in *Escan.*, 25170 ff., in the scene (*Escan.*, 25189 ff.) where Escanor dies in the odor of sanctity. (For an instance of the malodor of sin, Cf. *Sone*, 17191 ff., 17231-17358, 17465-17490.) A coffin is here miraculously at hand, and the old hermit, by a miracle of God, is given strength to put within it the dead body. Similarly, in *Jourdain de Blaivies*, angels descend and carry to Heaven the soul of the murdered Garnier (*Jourd.*, 704 ff.), while in *Amis et Amiles*, an account is given of an angel who takes from Abraham his sword, as he is about to sacrifice Isaac, and flies off to Heaven with sword and child (*Amis*, 1278 ff.). Again, in *Perceval*, the wounded Mordraius, too boldly advancing toward the Graal, is warned by an angel from Heaven with flaming sword, that, for his sin, his wounds will be daily fresh and never cured. Cf. *Perc.*, Vol. VI, p. 247 f. (With this account, Cf. the story of Uzzah as found in the Bible: *II Sam.*, VI, 6, 7.) So, also, the account in *Perceval* (*Perc.*, 26118 ff., 26269 ff.) of the hermit whom angels aid in holding Mass, and for whom they bring daily, bread and grapes at the command of God. Water and this food sustain the hermit's life. The resemblance to the story of Elijah at the brook Cherith, is evident. Cf. *I Kings*, 17:3-6. Cf., also, the account of the feeding of Elijah in the Wilderness: *I Kings*, 19:5-8. Cf., further, under 'Letters,' NN. 583 ff., *infra*.

Later¹⁵⁵ in the story, Eracle is himself visited by angels, who bid him hail in the Name of God, and command him to recover the true Cross from the Persian king, Coedroes, who has stolen it from Jerusalem. Again,¹⁵⁶ angels reprove Eracle, when he tries in proud fashion to return to Jerusalem the recovered Cross.¹⁵⁷

In *Robert le Diable*,¹⁵⁸ while Robert, in his disguise of a dumb fool, is lamenting that he cannot go fight the attacking Turks, there appears to him a knight in white armor, who bids him take these white arms, and go forth to battle. This Robert does, and then returns to the fountain and the knight, to whom he gives back the armor and the weapons. Twice again does the same thing occur, and the knight is clearly a celestial being.

In *Amis et Amiles*,¹⁵⁹ Amis is warned by an angel, who, unseen to others, flies to him from Heaven, and tells him that, for his false oath, he shall be stricken with leprosy. Later, another angel tells Amis how he can be cured of this disease.

b. Demons.

As angels were regarded as agents of good, so demons were looked upon as authors of evil, and enchantment was often put down as their work. As angels were beautiful, so demons were ugly, and the ugliness of human beings was measured by that of demons as the standard of comparison.¹⁶⁰ These beings are spoken of in many places in the Romances as connected with various forms of magic. The individual instances will be noted as they

¹⁵⁵ *Eracle*, 5354-5408.

¹⁵⁶ *Eracle*, 6210-6261.

¹⁵⁷ This direct teaching by angels is mentioned also in *Dolopathos*, where Lucimien is told by the holy man, that Noah and the other descendants of Adam were warned and taught by God through angels, who did before them signs and marvels. Cf. *Dolop.*, 11995 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Robert*, 1785-2059, 2130 ff., 2345-2376, 2507 ff., 2543 ff., 2561-2697, 2832 ff., 2864 ff., 3058 ff., 3151-3177, 3193 ff., 3793 ff., 3862 ff.

¹⁵⁹ *Amis*, 1803-1820, 2058 ff., 2096 ff., 2149 ff., 2769-2813, 2859-3246. Cf., also, under 'Baths,' N. 588, *infra*.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *Escan.*, 8011 ff., where the poorly dressed squire is compared with such beings. So also *Manek.*, 3120 ff., where the mother-in-law of Joie gives her false report in regard to the new-born child. Cf., also, N. 150, *supra*.

occur. As general illustrations of their connection with magic, may be here mentioned the siege by demons of a castle, as found in *Claris et Laris*; ¹⁶¹ from *La Manekine*, ¹⁶² the account of the contract of Theophilus and the Devil, signed and sealed with blood; from *Perceval*, ¹⁶³ the cure by demons of Keus from his insanity, and the ability possessed by these beings to assume various forms, as a horse; ¹⁶⁴ a beautiful maiden; ¹⁶⁵ the brother of Boors; ¹⁶⁶ a man-serpent. ¹⁶⁷ Against all these the sign of the Cross is an all-powerful aid. ¹⁶⁸

c. Fire Trial.

Another illustration of Church Magic, is found in the *Tristan* of Thomas, where Iseult, accused of love (and more) for Tristan, by the command of the King, undergoes the test of hot iron. Iron is heated in the great fire and blessed by the bishops, while Mass is heard and alms given. After taking an oath upon relics, Iseult seizes the iron with her bare hand, and, picking it up, holds it without harm. ¹⁶⁹

So, also, there is found in *Durmart le Galois* another example, where the Queen of Ireland, accused of non-belief, recites her creed, and is ready to enter a great fire, to prove herself guiltless of heresy. This fire is to be blessed and conjured, before the Queen enters it.

Et si li rois Artus mes sire
Ne me croit de ce qu'il m'ot dire,
Si face ·I· grant fu alumer
Et beneier et conjurer,
Et je irai par mi le fu.

¹⁶¹ *Cl-Lar.*, 16958 ff., 24835 ff.

¹⁶² *Manek.*, 5739 ff.

¹⁶³ *Perc.*, 30814 ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Perc.*, 40473-40530.

¹⁶⁵ *Perc.*, 40584-40722, 40826-40881, Vol. VI, pp. 174 f.

¹⁶⁶ *Perc.*, 43097-43158, 43652 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Perc.*, Vol. VI, p. 251.

¹⁶⁸ Cf., also, 'Means Used to Counteract the Effects of Enchantment,' NN. 109a ff., of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁹ *Thomas*, pp. 209-211, 216. Cf., also, under 'Chastity Tests,' NN. 555 ff., *infra*.

Se Deus qui tot tens iert et fu,
 Me fait eschaper savement,
 Que je me serai bien ostée
 De ce dont vos m'aves restée
 Et vos remannes, ce sachiez,
 En tel point, com vos me jugiez ;
 Car par tort fait mal autrui,
 Li malz doit revertir sor lui.

Durm., 14371 ff.

d. Miracles.

Of the various miracles that occur in the Romances, many may well be classed as magic, the intervention of the Good being regarded as a necessary complement to the intervention of Evil. Hence, we find St. James unbinding a pilgrim who has been bound by pagans,¹⁷⁰ and Floire casting himself into a den of lions, and preserved from death by the prayers of Blanceflor,¹⁷¹ while the two children of Amiles are miraculously revived, after their father has slain them that their blood may cure his friend, Amis.¹⁷² So also, in *Robert le Diable*,¹⁷³ the daughter of the Emperor, dumb from her birth, by a miracle of God regains her power of speech when her father would marry her to the wicked seneschal.

A notable instance of magic-miracle, is the restoral of the hand of Joïe, as told in *La Manekine*.¹⁷⁴ The member is cut off by the maiden in her endeavor to avoid the unholy embraces of her father, and, falling into the sea, is swallowed by a sturgeon. Long years elapse, during which Joïe suffers many changes of fortune. Finally, she is in Rome; two clerks go to draw water from a fountain beside St. Peter's. In their pail, they find a woman's hand, plump and fresh. They throw it back into the fountain, and draw again, to find again the hand in the pail. This happens several times, when the two clerks go to the Pope, and tell him about the matter. He bids them go bring the hand. This is done, and Joïe is called. She, the Pope and others go before the

¹⁷⁰ *Fl.-Bl.*, p. 126, 91 ff.

¹⁷¹ *Fl.-Bl.*, pp. 170 ff.

¹⁷² *Amis*, 3183 ff., Cf., also, under 'Baths,' N. 588, *infra*.

¹⁷³ *Robert*, 4490 ff., 4571 ff., 7489 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Manek.*, 721 ff., 7396-7691, 8262 ff., and pp. XLII, LXVII, 358 f.

high altar with prayer to the Virgin. Then the Pope puts the hand against the wounded wrist of Joïe, and they at once join perfectly without a trace of wound. Amid great joy on the part of those present, a voice bids the Pope send to the fountain, and catch therefrom a sturgeon, in the maw of which will be found the imprint of the hand; for, by the Virgin's prayers, Joïe's hand has all these years been kept thus fresh and uncorrupted.¹⁷⁵

Puis prent la main et si la tint
 Entre les sains dois humement,
 Dont il levoit le sacrement.
 Puis a la roïne apelée,
 Et li dui roi li ont menée.
 Li papes prent son brach senestre,
 Ou jadis soloit la mains estre,
 Si a regarde son moignon,
 Qui ert tous racuïries en son.
 Par raison estre ne pëust
 Qu'ele ja mais son puïg rëust,
 Mais Dix, qui bien seut son corage,
 Li volt rendre tout son damage.
 Si tost comme li puïgs toucha
 A son lieu, Diex le rassauda,
 Qui mires est deseur nature,
 Ne emplastre ne loi ëure
 N'i convient mettre puis cele ëure
 Car en peu d'eure Dix labëure.

Manek., 7556-7574.¹⁷⁶

In *Li Chevaliers as deus Espëes*,¹⁷⁷ is an example of prayer-miracle. The maiden in the Waste Chapel tries to put upon the

¹⁷⁵ It is by the Virgin's intercession, that the cure is here effected. Many of the saints were also thought to have the power to heal. St. Martin, St. George and St. James find especial mention in the Romances, as possessed of such power. Cf. *Manek.*, XXXII; *Octav.*, 4705; *Char.*, 1488. For other instances of special saints for special diseases, Cf. *Rydberg*, *op. cit.*, p. 69. The attitude of the Church toward the science of medicine, was long one of suspicion. Cf. *Rydberg*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-74. Cf., also, under 'Medicinal Magic,' NN. 585 ff., of this dissertation. Cf., also, under 'Boats,' N. 428, *infra*.

¹⁷⁶ Possibly, the escape of Boeve from prison, where he had been long languishing, should be classed as magical; it is certainly miraculous. By the Virtue of God, he jumps fifteen measured feet, straight up in the air, and thus escapes. Cf. *Boeve*, 1088 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *Chev. II Esp.*, 868-882, 2113 ff., 7458 ff.

altar, the horse-reins; ^{177a} but they forthwith jump off. She then prays to God and His Mother, and puts the reins back upon the altar, where they stay until "Li Chevaliers" himself takes them away.

Lor est devant l'autel venue,
Si s'agenoile et si a prises
Les pastures, si les a mises
Sour l'autel au pié de l'ymage
Mais n'i font pas mout lonc estage,
Ains salent enmi le moustier.
Lors n'ot il en li c'airier,
Mout par ot grant paor de mort,
Si proie diu k'il le confort,
Et sa mere, et tantost reprent,
Les pastures tout esraument,
Si les a remises ariere.
Lors fu lie de grant maniere,
Car ne se murent tant ne quant,
A son cuer en ot joie grant.

Chev. II Esp., 868-882.¹⁷⁸

*e. Relics.*¹⁷⁹

Closely akin to the magic of miracles, is that of relics.¹⁸⁰ Reference to particular instances of this, will be noted later as they occur in this study. For a general illustration, compare the passage from *Raoul de Cambrai*, where relics are found trembling and jumping about as they lie upon a fair green cloth, upon the grass, which is a marvel to remember.

Saintes reliques i fait li rois porter,
En ·I· vert paile desor l'erbe poser.
Qi donc vëist le paile venteler

^{177a} Or tether-rope. Cf. *Godefroy*, *sub voce*, 'pasture.'

¹⁷⁸ A purely religious miracle, such as that of the eagle's dropping the purse at the feet of the hero in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, is not to be regarded as magic. Cf. *G-d'Ang.*, 2849 ff.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Rydberg*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

¹⁸⁰ Of relics considered from the purely religious standpoint, of course, no discussion is here attempted. For instances, Cf. *Poitiers*, 1122 ff., (p. 48); *Thomas*, p. 210; *G-Pal.*, 7369; *Esefl.*, 628 ff.; *Bérout*, 4132 ff., 4173 ff., 4199 ff.; *Merang.*, 1920 f., 5918; *Todd.*, 2184. Further citations are needless.

Et les reliques fremir et sauteler,
De grant merveille li pōist remembrer.

Raoul, 4948 ff.¹⁸¹

The cases that have been here cited, prove generally the presence of Church Magic in the Romances. As has been already noted, individual instances that fall naturally under more specific heads, will be found later in this monograph, listed in their proper connection.

4. FAIRIES AND MAGIC.¹⁸²

Fairies appear frequently in the French Romances, either as particular heroines, or as furnishing the necessary mystic background for the stories, or as connected with individual magical objects and incidents, or in some combination of these classes. Their connection with individual cases of magic, is noted when these cases of magic are separately discussed,¹⁸³ while the stories of *Le Bel Inconnu*, *Blancandin*, *Brun de la Montaigne*, *Claris et Laris*, *Dolopathos*, *Escanor*, *Floriant et Florete*, *Partonopeus* and *La Vengeance Raguidel* are to be remembered as types of those Romances in which the most important fairy rôles are found, although these magic beings are present, in person or by reference, in nearly every one of the stories that form the basis for the present study.

¹⁸¹ As illustrations of the use of relics for taking oaths, there may be cited, in addition to the passage just quoted, *Bel Incon.*, 5260 ff., *Raoul*, 780 ff., 5292 ff., 5838 ff., *Bérout*, 4127 ff., 4199 ff., *Robert*, 1574-1589, *Amis*, 1388 ff., 1775 ff., 1793 ff., 1836 f., *Jourd.*, 762 f. This use of relics is too well known to require further citations, and, indeed, can be classed as magical only in particular instances.

¹⁸² A detailed account of fairies and their work, will not be here attempted, as the subject has already been investigated by many writers. (Cf., for example, Keightley : *Fairy Mythology*, London, 1860 ; L. F. A. Maury : *Les Fées du moyen âge*, Paris, 1843 ; Lucy A. Paton : *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Radcliffe College Monograph, Nr. 13, New York, 1903.) What it is proposed to do in the present section of this monograph, is merely to indicate the important position held by these beings in the Romances under discussion.

¹⁸³ Cf. for examples, under 'Astronomy,' N. 69 ff.; 'Ointments,' N. 223a ; 'Rings,' N. 316 ; 'Chains and Girdles,' N. 343, and elsewhere in this study.

The fairies are always of the feminine sex, and one of their characteristics is their love for men.¹⁸⁴ Almost without exception, they are described as most beautiful, and this fact is so stressed, that the authors of the Romances use them constantly as the standard of comparison for this quality.¹⁸⁵ They wander mainly by night, frequenting forests and fountains and disappearing before cock-crow.¹⁸⁶ The knowledge that these beings are represented as possessing is extensive, embracing practical, as well as magical, subjects; extending from the weaving of cloth to foretelling events by the stars, and deeply influencing the lives of mankind.¹⁸⁷ The fairies are represented as immortal, but not as eternal,¹⁸⁸ and some of them are especially prominent, as Morgain

¹⁸⁴ Cf., for examples, the story of Melior and Partonopeus, in *Partonopeus*; that of Brian and Esclarmondine, in *Escanor*; *La Vengeance Raguidel* and others.

¹⁸⁵ The following quotations bear out this statement.

Elle est plus avenans que fée.	<i>Poël.</i> , p. 4.
Ne fu aussi bele trouvée,	
Se ne fu figure de fée.	<i>Amad.</i> , 4720 f.
La u la puciele est montée	
Qui de biaute resambloit fée	
Mius que nule autre creature.	<i>Perc.</i> , 25971 ff.
Et de si grant biaute estoit	
Com s'ele fust sieraine u fée.	<i>Perc.</i> , 28656 f
C'est Lubias, la fille de mon frere,	
Qui plus blanche est que serainne ne fée.	<i>Amis</i> , 472 f.
La raison as de ma moillier la clere,	
Qui plus est bele que serainne ne fée.	<i>Jourd.</i> , 2470 f.

The last three examples show the influence of Antiquity. Cf. the story of Ulysses and the Sirens, as found in the *Odyssey*. Cf., for other instances of this comparison, *Auc.*, 22:31 f.; *Brun.*, 1266 ff.; *Dolop.*, 939 f., 4185; *Chev. II Esp.*, 1182-1187; *Cl-Lar.*, 14472; *Octav.*, 1735 f., 1897 f., 2667 f.; *Fl-Fl.*, 7558, 7767 f.; *G-Dole*, 4674 f.; *G-Pal.*, 423; *Joufrois*, 3408 f.; *Parton.*, 10710; *Rich. Biaux*, 1960, 4997; *Perc.*, 10870, 16770 f., 25741 ff., 25971 ff., 30447, 32055, 33280; *Escan.*, 8142 ff.; *Horn.*, 452 f. Cf., also, N. 150, *supra*.

¹⁸⁶ *Brun.*, 539 ff., 1135.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *Erec.*, 6744 f.; *Bel Incon.*, 2208 ff., 3263 f.; *Dolop.*, 9274 ff.; *G-Dole*, 5310 f.; *Cl-Lar.*, 3290 ff., 3317 ff., 3560 ff., 8230 ff., 8334 ff., 10140 ff., 10955 ff., 16100 ff., 17132 ff., 17930 ff., 28976 ff., 29270 ff., 29392 ff.; *Perc.*, 36840 ff., Vol. VI, pp. 197 ff. These citations are illustrative; not, exhaustive. Cf., also, *Fl-Fl.*, pp. XLIII, notes 14, 15; LII; LV and note 52; LXV; LXVII; LXIX and L. F. A. Maury: *Les Fées du moyen âge*, Paris, 1843.

¹⁸⁸ We never hear of the death of fairies; but we do find mention made of their

the Fee,¹⁸⁹ sister¹⁹⁰ of Arthur, whose power and knowledge are represented as wonderful.¹⁹¹ In the majority of cases, the fairies

childhood and womanhood, which shows that they are created, not eternal, beings.

Et ceste fée qui fu sage
Ot usé trestot son eage
De ningremance puis s'enffiance.

Escan., 15921 ff.

For other examples, Cf. N. 35, *supra*. The idea of the immortality of fairies is noted in *Perceval*, where we find that Guingamuer is mortal on the side of his father, but immortal on that of his mother, the fairy.

Mortuus estoit envers le pere
Mais non pas, sire, envers la mere.

Perc., 21869 f.

¹⁸⁹ For various mention of Morgain, Cf. *Erec.*, p. XXVII, note; XLIII, note 15, 1957, 2380n., 4216 ff., 4220; *Char.*, 2953; *Bel Incon.*, 4263; *Clar-Lar.*, 3662; *Fl-Fl.*, p. XLIII, n. 15, 550, 735, 6212 *et passim*. It is needless to add further references to this well known character.

¹⁹⁰ In *Brun*, she is made the cousin of Arthur, who is called King of the Fairies. Cf. *Brun*, 3237 f., 3251 f., 3396 ff., 3599 ff.

¹⁹¹ So strong a faith is evident in the power of fairies, that a man who is pre-eminently successful in an enterprise, is often thought of as 'féed'; that is, endowed with fairy power or under fairy protection, as *Perceval's* adversary, the Knight of the Dragon, says :

"Vassal, fait il, se vostre escus
Ne fust, piecha fussiez vencus;
N'ovrez pas par chevalerie,
Aincois ovrez par faërie
Quant vos avez celui vencu
Qui fu jectoit de mon escu,
Et, se vos faëz ne fuissiez,
Ja contre moi ne durissiez."

Perc., Vol. VI, p. 235.

So, also, in *Jouffrois*, the power of the fairies or the especial protection of the Almighty, is put down as the cause of success in arms.

Bien dient tuit, qu'il sunt faé
O que molt sont de deu amé,
Quant il sont si buens chevalier
Ne cous ne prisent un diner.

Jouffrois, 3179 ff.

For further reference to a person's being 'féed' under various conditions, or of a thing's being thus considered, Cf. *Eracle*, 30 ff.; *Parton.*, 201 f., 515, 701 f.; *Ferg.*, 3745 f., 4355 ff., 4936 f., 5071 f., 6502; *Bérout*, 4021, 4064; *Atre*, 1577 ff.; *Horn*, 860 f., 2188, 2462; *Fl-Fl.*, 8238 f.; *Artois*, p. 54 : 11, 21 f., p. 97 : 11, 4 f.; *Perc.*, 11243 f., 25741. It should be noted that the citations here listed are illustrative, rather than exhaustive. Cf., also, N. 192, and N. 94. *supra*.

are represented as well disposed and kind, acting for the good of human beings,¹⁹² and frequently taking some particular man under their especial protection.

As typical examples of how fairies were supposed to take care of human beings, the following are quoted.

In *Floriant et Florete*,¹⁹³ Morgain and two other (unnamed) fairies carry off to Mongibel, their town and castle, the infant Floriant, where they have him baptized in the minster, and take the best care of him. When he is fifteen, Morgain tells him that he is a prince; knights him, and sends him forth in a magic boat of ebony¹⁹⁴ to Arthur's court. Here a letter from Morgain tells him his true origin. Years pass, and Floriant, who unwittingly is near his death-hour, is one day hunting, when he starts a white stag,¹⁹⁵ which leads him on and on, and finally disappears in a castle, where Floriant finds Morgan,¹⁹⁶ who sent the stag to lead

¹⁹² But the fairies are not always mentioned as desired companions.

Vos estes fee, si n'avons cure de vo compaignie.

Auc., 18:30.

Nor are their works always regarded with favor. So Laris says of the sweet music and the vanishing path: (Cf., also, N. 609, *infra*.)

Je croi que se soit deablie

Féerie ou enchantement.

Cl-Lar., 3629 f.

Yet, in spite of tendencies sometimes evil, entertainment may come from their work. So in *Escan.*, 15760 ff. Further references to the use of the term 'faerie' and its synonymity with 'enchantment,' will be found in *Perc.*, Vol. VI, p. 235, quoted in N. 191, *supra*, and in *Parton.*, 308 f.; *Escan.*, 8142-8147, 16297 ff., 16337 ff., 16462 f. A very evident lack of faith is shown in the following:

Ce fu fable d'Artu u ço fu faerie,

Mais ce fu verités, nel mescréés vos mie.

Todd, 3296 f.

¹⁹³ *Fl-Fl.*, 550-575, 735-931, 991 ff., 2379 ff., 2523 ff., 8180 ff., 8233 ff., and N. 466, *infra*.

¹⁹⁴ Cf., also, under 'Boats,' N. 427, *infra*.

¹⁹⁵ The frequent appearance of a marvellous stag, usually white, is well nigh a commonplace in the literature under investigation. For instances, Cf. *Ferg.*, 51 ff., 80 ff.; *Fl-Fl.*, 8186 ff.; *Rag.*, 1560 ff.; *Dolop.*, 9205; *Perc.*, 22550; *Erec.*, 36 ff., 118 ff., 380 ff., 1777 ff.

¹⁹⁶ For further references to Morgain, Cf. N. 189 *supra*.

him to Mongibel (Avalon),¹⁹⁷ the land of immortality, whither, likewise to prevent his death, Arthur shall be later brought, and whither three fairies bring Floriant's wife, Florete, for whom he sorrows.

In *Brun de la Montaigne*,¹⁹⁸ Butor, the Father of Brun, at the birth of the child, has him exposed beside a fountain in the forest of Broceliande,¹⁹⁹ where fairies are wont to resort, that they may

¹⁹⁷ A rather curious use of the word, 'Avalon,' is found in *Atre*, where is the oath :

Car par Saint Lasdre d'Avalon. *Atre*, 2082.

With this land of Avalon, should be compared the strange Island of Glass, ruled over by Maholeas, brother of Guingemar, who is the lover of Morgain, and himself is Lord of Avalon.

Vint Maholeas, uns hauz ber,
Li sire de l'Isle de Voirre ;
An cele isle n'ot l'an tonoirre ;
Ne n'i chiet foudre ne tanpeste,
Ne boz ne serpanz n'i areste
N'il n'i fet chaut ne n'iverne.

Erec, 1946 ff.

Et Guingomar ses frere i vint ;
De l'Isle d'Avalon fu sire.
De cestui avons oï dire
Qu'il fu amis Morgain la fée.

Erec, 1954 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *Brun.*, 16 ff., 48 ff., 81 ff., 496 ff., 539 ff., 562 ff., 642 ff., 658 ff., 685 ff., 824 ff., 901-1131, 1214-1374, 1531-1647, 1874-2021, 2749 ff., 2484-2874, 3086-3201, 3382—*ad fin.*, and *Introd.*, pp. x ff.

¹⁹⁹ Several localities are mentioned by Butor as being the resort of fairies, all which places are under the domination of Arthur.

Il a des lieux faés es marches de Champagne,
Et ausi en a il en la Roche grifaïne,
Et si croy qu'il en a aussi en Alemaïne,
Et ou bois Bersillant, par dessus la Montaigne ;
Et nonporquant ausi en a il en Espagne,
Et tout cil lieu faé sont Artu de Bretaïne.

Brun, 562 ff.

But Broceliande is the chief resort of the fairies, as *Claris et Laris* also testifies :

Les fées i ont lor estage,
En ·I· des biaux leus du boschage
Est lor maison et lor repaire
Si riches, con le porroit faire
Cil qui le sorent compasser.

Cl-Lar., 3317 ff.

This forest is frequently referred to in the Romances. To cite all the passages is

see and bless his son, and that he may become most bold, skillful, courageous and valiant in war, and lack all vices.²⁰⁰ The fountain is beside a chestnut tree,²⁰¹ and, after the child is exposed, three fairies come up singing, and find the infant, who has been born, say they, within the week. Two of the fairies endow him with courtesy, beauty, learning and prowess. The third says he shall for ten years have a hopeless love, and see his lady married to a hunchback. The other two try to dissuade her from any such curse; but she persists. Brun will, however, be always aided by one of the fairies,²⁰² who kisses him four times as she leaves him, and puts upon his finger a gold ring.²⁰³ Later, when the infant has been carried back to the castle of his father, this fairy appears in the guise of a noble lady, and takes charge of Brun, leaving him when he is asleep, and going back to the forest, to return as needed. This goes on until Brun is fifteen, when the fairy goes away for good, as it is time for the boy to become a lover. She will, however, return to him ten years later, when his hopeless love shall have ended, and meanwhile will be at his side in any case of need. She then vanishes. Brun goes to seek her in

needless. Cf. *Yvain*, 189 f.; *Escan*, 1903 ff., and *Cl-Lar.*, 3290-3334, where will be found a full description of this wood and its marvels. Cf., also, L. F. A. Maury: *Les Forêts de la Gaule*, Paris, 1850, pp. 331 ff.

200

Et por ce estoit il tout adès desireus,
Que ses filz fust portés ens ou lieu deliteus
Ou li repairs estoit des fées amourens
Afin que li sien filz en fust plus engingnex,
Plus hardis, plus poisans et en tout coragex
Por achever les fais des griés guerres mortieus,
Et sans de vilain vice estre point couvoiteus.

Brun, 539 ff.

201 Cf. *Brun*, 825, 1131, 1235, 1265.

202

Car present de la dame, elle li otroia
Qu'en tous fais perilleus elle li aidera,
Et avecques tout ce elle le nourrira
Tant qu'il sera en point que desirer pourra
Amie, et cilz point ci moult nous recomforta,
Dont nule des grietés l'enfant ne grevera,
Si tost qu'avec lui ert il ne l'en sovendra.

Brun, 1325 ff.

203 Cf. under 'Rings,' N. 342, *infra*.

Broceliande, and finds her beside the fountain. She gives him advice, and again promises to be at hand at need throughout the ten years of his hopeless love; but he shall see her only four times²⁰⁴ during this period. She then takes from him the first ring that she gave him, and gives him another, a magic one.²⁰⁵ Later, Brun sojourns in the Castle of Steel,²⁰⁶ with Morgain and other fairies, and there falls in love with his disdainful *amie*.²⁰⁷

In *Claris et Laris*,²⁰⁸ there is ample illustration of fairy influence upon men. Claris and his companions, riding in Broceliande, hear sweetest music. Suddenly a maiden appears, and invites them to follow her. They do this, and enter a beautiful valley, with fair houses, whence issues the music. Then they go into a beautiful city, and are greeted by twelve ladies, all fairies, one of whom is Morgain, who are ready to do all honor to Claris and his companions. The path by which the knights have entered the valley, disappears,²⁰⁹ and they cannot leave. However, Madoine, the fairy who loves Laris, is persuaded by him to show him the way out, which is opened by turning a stone that is itself the work of necromancy. Thus the knights escape. Later, Madoine and two other fairies steal Laris away by night, while he is asleep, and carry him to this same fairy valley, where they place him in a tower that Madoine has built. Hither Keus is also led by Madoine, when one of the four 'vilains' who have been set to guard the vanishing path, has captured him in Broceliande. By the aid of one of these same 'vilains,' Claris rescues Laris, whom Madoine again tries to get into the valley, by promising him ease from his sorrow at the (supposed) death of Claris and Lidoine; but Claris again rescues his friend. Into this same valley, also, does

²⁰⁴ Cf. the four kisses that she has previously given him. *Brun*, 1108, 1338, 2013, 3168 ff.

²⁰⁵ Cf. under 'Rings,' N. 342, *infra*.

²⁰⁶ "Chastel d'Acier." Cf. *Brun*, 3282—*ad fin*.

²⁰⁷ *Brun*, 3382—*ad fin*. As the story has reached us in an incomplete form, we do not know how the fairy further aided the hero.

²⁰⁸ *Cl-Lar.*, 3557-3715, 3994-4142, 8229 ff., 8334 ff., 8361 ff., 10131-10221, 10945-11239, 17130 ff., 17221-17331, 17360 ff., 17839 ff., 28968-29027, 29172-29355, 29386-29431.

²⁰⁹ Cf. under 'Path,' N. 609, *infra*.

Madoine carry Gauwain, Marine and their companions, after they have gone to sleep in the tents that Madoine sets up by enchantment in the forest.²¹⁰ There, Madoine appears to Laris, and tells him she has in her power his loved one; but, on his threatening her, promises to restore his friends to liberty.

These quotations give the general idea of the part taken in the Romances by fairies. The incidents that will be found noted under specific heads, will give further particulars in regard to the part played by these beings.

²¹⁰ Cf. under 'Tent,' N. 521^a, *infra*.

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THEIR ABBREVIATED TITLES.

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2. *Amis.* *Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaivies.* Konrad Hofmann, 2te Auflage, Erlangen, 1882.
3. *Artois.* *Le Livre du très chevalereux Comte d'Artois et de sa femme, fille au Comte de Boulogne.* J. Barrios, Paris, 1837.
4. *Atre.* *L'Atre périllous.* A. Tobler, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.* Vol. 42 (1868), pp. 135 ff.
5. *Auc.* *Aucassin et Nicolette.* Hermann Suchier, 4te Auflage, Paderborn, 1899.
6. *Bel Incon.* *Le Bel Inconnu.* Renauld de Beaujeu. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1860.
7. *Béroul.* *Le Roman de Tristan.* Béroul, Ernest Muret, Paris, 1903.
8. *Blan.* *Blancandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'Amour.* H. Michelant, Paris, 1867.
9. *Boeve.* *Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone.* Albert Stimming, Halle, 1899.
10. *Brun.* *Brun de la Montaigne.* Paul Meyer, Paris, 1875.
11. *Char.* *Der Karrenritter (Lancelot ou Le Chevalier de la Charrette).* Chrétien de Troyes. W. Foerster, Halle, 1899.
12. *Cl-Lar.* *Li Romans de Claris et Laris.* Johann Alton, Tübingen, 1884.
13. *Cleom.* *Li Romans de Cléomades, Adènes li Rois.* André van Hasselt, Brussels, 1865, 1866.
14. *Cligés.* *Cligés,* Chrétien de Troyes. W. Foerster, 2te Auflage, Halle, 1901.
15. *Chev. à l'Epée.* *Le Chevalier à l'Epée.* E. C. Armstrong, Baltimore, 1900.
16. *Chev. II Esp.* *Li Chevaliers as deus Espées.* W. Foerster, Halle, 1877.
17. *Coucy.* *L'Histoire du Chatelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel.* G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1829.
18. *Dolop.* *Li Romans de Dolopathos.* Brunet et De Montaignon, Paris, 1856.
19. *Durm.* *Li Romans de Durmart le Galois.* Edmund Stengel, Tübingen, 1873.
20. *Eracle.* *Eracle,* Gautier d'Arras. E. Löseth, Paris, 1890.
21. *Erec.* *Erec und Enide,* Chrétien de Troyes. W. Foerster, Halle, 1896.
22. *Escan.* *Li Romans d'Escanor,* Girard d'Amiens. H. Michelant, Tübingen, 1886.
23. *Escfl.* *L'Escoufle.* H. Michelant et P. Meyer, Paris, 1894.
24. *Ferg.* *Fergus,* Guillaume le Clerc. Ernst Martin, Halle, 1872.
25. *Flam.* *Le Roman de Flamenca.* Paul Meyer, 2e Ed., Paris, 1901.
26. *Fl-Bl.* *Floire et Blanceflor.* Edèlestand Du Ménil, Paris, 1856.
27. *Fl-Fl.* *Floriant et Florete.* Fr. Michel, Edinburgh, 1873.
28. *Fl-Jne.* *Le Roman du Roi Flore et de la Belle Jeanne.* Fr. Michel, Paris, 1838.
29. *Fl-Lir.* *Floris et Liriope,* Robert de Blois. Wolfr. v. Zingerle, Leipzig, 1891.

30. *Galer. Le Roman de Galerent, Comte de Bretagne*, Le Trouvère Renaut. Anatole Boucherie, Paris, 1888.
31. *G-d' Angl. Das Wilhelmsleben*, (*Guillaume d'Angleterre*), Chrétien de Troyes. W. Foerster, Halle, 1899.
32. *G-Dole. Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*. G. Servois, Paris, 1893.
33. *G-Pal. Guillaume de Palerne*. H. Michelant, Paris, 1876.
34. *Have. Le Lai d'Havelock le Danois*. Fr. Michel, Paris, 1833.
35. *Horn. Das Anglonormannische Lied vom Wackern Ritter Horn*. Brede und Stengel, Marburg, 1883.
36. *Ille-Gal. Ille und Geleron*, Gautier d'Arras. W. Foerster, Halle, 1891.
37. *Ipom. Ipomedon*, Hue de Rotelande. Kölbing und Koschwitz, Breslau, 1889.
38. *Jaufre. Roman de Jaufre*. M. Raynouard, Paris, 1844. (*Lexique Roman*, I. pp. 48-173.)
39. *Jeh-Bl. Jehan et Blonde*, Philippe de Beaumanoir. II. Suchier, Paris, 1885. (*Oeuvres poétiques de Ph. de B.*, II. pp. 3-193.)
40. *Joufrois. Joufrois*. Hofmann und Muncker, Halle, 1880.
41. *Jourd. Jourdain de Blaivies*. Cf. *Amis*, *supra*.
42. *Manek. La Manekine*, Philippe de Beaumanoir. H. Suchier, Paris, 1884. (*Oeuvres poétiques de Ph. de B.*, II.)
43. *Melion. Lai de Melion*, W. Horak, *Z. R. P.*, VI (1882), pp. 94-106.
44. *Meraug. Méraugis von Portlesgues*, Raoul de Houdenc. Mathias Friedwagner, Halle, 1897.
45. *Mule Sfr. La Mule sanz Frain*. Méon, Paris, 1823. (*Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, I, pp. 1-38.)
46. *Octar. Octavian*. Karl Vollmöller, Heilbronn, 1883.
47. *Parton. Partonopeus de Blois*. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1834.
48. *Perc. Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*. Ch. Potvin, Mons, 1866.
49. *Poit. Roman du Comte de Poitiers*. Fr. Michel, Paris, 1831.
50. *Ponthieu. Histoire d'outre mer ou le roman de la Comtesse de Ponthieu*, L. Moland et C. d'Hericault, Paris, 1856. (*Nouvelles françaises en prose du XIIe siècle*.)
51. *Rag. Messire Gauvain ou la vengeance Raguidel*, Le Trouvère Raoul. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862.
52. *Raoul. Raoul de Cambrai*, Paul Meyer et A. Longnon, Paris, 1882.
53. *Rich. Biaux. Richars le Biaux*. W. Foerster, Wien, 1874.
54. *Robert. Robert le Diable*. E. Löseth, Paris, 1903.
55. *Sone. Sone von Nausay*. Moritz Goldschmidt, Tübingen, 1899.
56. *Thomas. Le Roman de Tristan*, Thomas. Joseph Bédier, Paris, 1902.
57. *Violette. Roman de la Violette*, Gibert de Montreuil. Fr. Michel, Paris, 1834.
58. *Wistasse. Wistasse le Moine*. W. Foerster and Joh. Trost, Halle, 1891.
59. *Yvain. Yvain*, Chrétien de Troyes. W. Foerster, 2te Auflage, Halle, 1902.

B. OTHER WORKS REFERRED TO, WITH THEIR ABBREVIATED TITLES.¹

- Adelung. Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit u. s. w.* J. C. Adelung, Leipzig, 1785-1789.
- Aimeri. La Mort d'Aimeri de Narbonne.* Du Parc, Paris, 1884.
- Apuleius. L. Apuleii: Opera Omnia.* G. F. Hildebrand, Leipzig, 1842.
- Athanasius. S. P. N. Athanasii: Opera Omnia Quae Exstant,* Paris, 1857. (Nrs. 25-28 of J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Graecae*.)
- Ayzac. Symbolique des pierres précieuses, ou tropologie des gemmes.* Mme. Félicie d'Ayzac, *Les Annales archéologiques*, Paris, 1846.
- Boot. Le Parfaict Ioaillier, ou histoire des pierrierries,* Anselme Boece de Boot. Andre Toll, Lyon, 1644.
- Boyle. "Origin and Virtues of Gems."* *Works of H. Boyle:* Vol. III, pp. 512-572, London, 1772.
- Brown. Iwain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance.* A. C. L. Brown, Vol. VIII of *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1903.
- Brown. The Round Table Before Wace.* A. C. L. Brown, Vol. VII of *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*.
- Brut. Le Roman de Brut, Wace.* Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836, 1838.
- Clouston. On the Magical Elements of Chaucer's Squire's Tale, with Analogues.* W. A. Clouston, London, 1889. (Chaucer Society, 2 Series, Nr. 26.)
- Colquhoun. History of Magic, Witchcraft and Animal Magnetism.* J. C. Colquhoun, London, 1851.
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- Damigeron. Damigeron et varii ethnicae vetustatis scriptores de virtutibus lapidum.* J. B. Pitra, (In Vol. III of *Spicilegium solesmense lectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus selecta, etc.* Paris, 1852-1858, pp. 324 ff.)
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- Del Rio. Disquisitionum magicorum libri VI.* M. A. Del Rio, Coloniae, 1679.
- Depping. Véland le forgeron, dissertation sur une tradition du moyen âge.* Depping et Fr. Michel, Paris, 1833.
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- Dolop. Cf. Oesterley.*
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¹ A complete catalogue of works dealing with the Magic of the Middle Ages, is not here attempted or intended. The list here given includes only those books to which I feel under more particular obligation in my work on this dissertation.

- Gaimar. *Estorie des Engles*. Geffrei Gaimar, Thomas Wright, Caxton Society Publications Nr. 2, London, 1850.
- Gaimar. *Lestorie des Engles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and Charles Trice Martin, London, 1888, 1889. (Nr. 91 of *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*.)
- Garinet. *Histoire de la magie en France*. J. Garinet, Paris, 1818.
- Gervasius. *Otia Imperialia*, Gervasius Tilburiensis. Ed. Leibnitz, Hannover, 1707. (In Vol. I of *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, pp. 881-1004.) Cf., also, Liebrecht.
- Gibbs. *Chevelere Assigne*. Ed. Henry H. Gibbs, London, 1868. (*Early Eng. Text Society, Extra Series, Nr. 6.*)
- Gougenot. *La Magie au XIXe siècle*. H. R. Gougenot des Mousseaux, Paris, 1860.
- Grimm. *Ueber die Polyphemsage*. W. Grimm, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Academie der Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1857.
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- Hartenstein. *Studien zur Hornsage*. Otto Hartenstein, Heidelberg, 1902. (*Kieler Studien zur englischen Philologie, Nr. 4.*)
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- Haveloc. Cf. Gaimar, Heyman, Madden, Michel and Skeat.
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- Heucher. *Magic Plants, Being a Translation of a Curious Tract Entitled 'De Vegetabilibus Magicis.'* J. H. Heucher, Ed. E. M. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1886. (In the *Bibliotheca Curiosa*.)
- Huon. *Huon de Bordeaux*. F. Guessard et C. Grandmaison, Paris, 1860.
- Isidore. *Isidore of Seville, Opera omnia*, recensente Faustino Arevalo, Paris, 1850-1862. (Vols. 81-84 of J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Latinae*.)
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- Keightley. *The Fairy Mythology, Illustrative of the Romances and Superstitions of Various Countries*. Thomas Keightley, New Ed., London, 1860.
- Kittredge. *Arthur and Gorgalon*. G. L. Kittredge, Boston, 1903. *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VIII, pp. 149 ff.
- Lap. de Berne. Vid. Pan.
- Lap. de Cambr. Vid. Pan.
- Lap. de Modène. Vid. Pan.
- Lapid. du XIVe siècle. Vid. Sotto.
- Lap en Prose. Vid. Pan.
- Lap en Vers. Vid. Pan.
- Lenormant. *La Divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens*. Fr. Lenormant, Paris, 1875.
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Mandeville. Cf. Sotto.

Marbode. *Liber Lapidum*: Marbode, Paris, 1854. (Vol. 171 of J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Latinae*.)

Marco Polo. *Peregrinatio*, Marco Polo, Paris, 1824. (Vol. I of *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*.)

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Meyer. *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der nächstfolgenden Jahrhunderte*. Karl Meyer, Basel, 1884.

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Nyrop. *Storie dell' epopea francese nel medio evo*. Kr. Nyrop, Trad. da Egidio Gorra, Firenze, 1886.

Oesterley. *Dolopathos, sive De Rege et Septem Sapientibus, Johannis de Alta Silva*. Hermann Oesterley, Strassburg and London, 1873.

Pan. *Les Lapidaires français du moyen âge des XIIe, XIIIe et XIV siècles*. Leopold Pannier, Paris, 1882.

Paton. *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romances*. Lucy A. Paton, Boston, 1903.

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Prem. Lap. Cf. Pan.

Rajna. *Le Origini dell' epopea francese*. Pio Rajna, Firenze 1884.

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Ro. *Romania*, Paris.

Rolland. *Flore populaire, ou histoire naturelle des plantes dans leurs rapports avec la linguistique et le folklore*. Eugène Rolland, Paris, 1896-1899.

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- Todd. *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*. Henry A. Todd, Baltimore, 1889. (Vol. iv of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.)
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- Wulff. *Le Conte du Mantel*. F. A. Wulff, *Romania*, xiv, pp. 343 ff.
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LIFE.

I was born in Baltimore, Md., and received my early education at home, under the guidance of my mother. In 1883, I entered Randolph-Macon College, and, passing through the preparatory and the collegiate courses, all which were then given at Ashland, Virginia, graduated in 1891, with the degree of Master of Arts. In 1887, four years before I received my degree, I was appointed Instructor in Greek at Randolph-Macon. To this work was later joined the Instructorship in French and in English. This position I held until 1893, when I resigned to assume charge of the newly created chair of French and German at Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, where I remained two years, at the end of which time I was recalled to Randolph-Macon as head of the department of Greek and German. This position I held from 1895 to 1900, when I resigned to enter Johns Hopkins University. Here, I had French as my principal subject, and Spanish and Italian, as my first and second subordinate subjects respectively. I also followed for a year the courses in Greek, under Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve and Doctor C.W. Emil Miller. The summer of 1903, I spent in Paris, studying Modern French and working upon my dissertation. During the whole time that I was at the University, I held a Hopkins Scholarship from Virginia, and in June, 1904, was appointed Instructor in French.

Of the different gentlemen whose courses I there attended, there are none to whom I do not owe cordial acknowledgments. To Associate Professor C. W. Emil Miller, and to Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, of the Greek Department, much is due, while, in the Romance Department, in which my work has mainly been, I would express my deep gratitude to Professor F. M. Warren, of Yale University; to Doctors George C. Keidel, J. Eustace Shaw and Murray Peabody Brush; to Associate Professors Philip Ogden and Edward Cooke Armstrong, and to Professor C. Car-

roll Marden, for their many kindnesses and constant encouragement. But it is to Professor A. Marshall Elliott, the head of the Romance Department of the Johns Hopkins University, that I would here offer my chief thanks ; for his unfailing and generous courtesy ; his wide learning and his constant inspiration to labor for the highest ideals of scholarship, have led me on through my University course, as they have led so many others.

DE LA WARR BENJAMIN EASTER.

Randolph-Macon College,
April 2, 1906.

